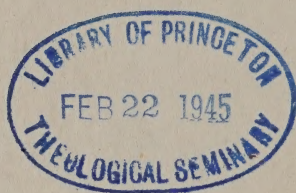




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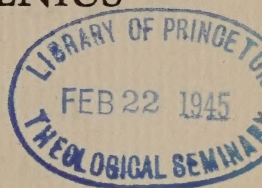




'Loe, here an Exile! who to serve his God.
 Hath sharply tasted of proud Persians Rod
 Whose learning, Piety, & true worth, being knowne
 To all the world, makes all the world his owne

JOHN AMOS COMENIUS

The
ANGEL
of
PEACE



Edited by Milos Safranek
Introduction by Matthew Spinka
PANTHEON BOOKS
New York

ANGELUS PACIS
ad

LEGATOS PACIS

ANGLOS ET BELGAS

Bredam missus,

INDEQUE AD OMNES CHRISTIANOS

per Europam

ET MOX

AD OMNES POPULOS

per orbem totum mittendus,

Ut se sistant, belligerare desinant,
pacisque principi, Christo, pacem
gentibus jam locuturo,
locum faciant

A. D. 1667, mense Maio.

PANTHEON BOOKS INC.

THE ANGEL OF PEACE

sent to

THE PEACE AMBASSADORS

OF ENGLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS

in Breda,

Whence it is intended for
transmission to all the
Christians in Europe

and thereafter to all the nations
throughout the world,

*that they should call a halt,
cease to wage war,*

And make way for the Prince of
Peace, Christ, who now desireth
to announce peace to
the nations.

May, A. D. 1667.

PANTHEON BOOKS INC.

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41 Washington Square, New York 12, N. Y.

Rendered into English by Dr. W. A. Morison



Printed at The Ram Press
Manufactured in the U. S. A.
for Pantheon Books Inc.
41 Washington Square, New York, N. Y.

INTRODUCTION

It is altogether fitting, in the face of global conflict before which all previous wars have dwindled into insignificance, and in preparation for peace negotiations which to some degree will determine the conditions of the new world, that we should consider certain previous attempts at establishing a lasting peace. Among these attempts, the treatise of John Amos Comenius (1592-1670), herewith republished, is important not only because of its historical interest but also for the inclusion of suggestions of lasting value. The event which called it forth may be of relatively minor historical moment. But the principles which Comenius urged upon the English and Dutch ambassadors assembled in 1667 at Breda for the purpose of terminating the war between their nations are timeless.

The evocative event was the termination of the second of the three wars (1652-74) between Great Britain and the Netherlands. All three of these conflicts were instances of those struggles for commercial supremacy endured by the world on many subsequent occasions. During the Elizabethan era, England had wrested from Spain the supremacy of the sea, and then had retained it as her precious national right. The United Provinces at that time had still been battling for their religious liberties and national independence against the troops of the gloomy, fanatically Catholic Spanish King, Philip II, and his suc-

cessor; their independence was not formally acknowledged until at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Once they were assured of their national existence, the Dutch turned their attention to the task of building up a sound economy. The land they occupied being insufficient for an expanding economy, naturally they turned their attention to sea-borne commerce. But in so doing they were confronted with the already established "sovereignty of the sea" claimed by the English who had likewise busily turned to colonial and other sea-borne trade and commerce as their principal sources of wealth. In the effort to establish themselves in the face of such opposition, the Dutch inevitably were drawn into an armed conflict with the English. As early as the reign of Charles I, the Dutch seized a favorable opportunity for sending Admiral van Tromp to destroy the English navy and to exclude England from the East India trade. The arguments, which served both sides as justifications for war, are preserved in detail in that contemporaneous account, Henry Stubbs' *A Justification of the Present War Against the United Netherlands*, published in London in 1672.

The first of the three wars (1652-54) occurred during the Commonwealth Period and ended with a decisive English victory. That the Dutch could not accept their defeat as final is readily comprehensible: the success of their economic policy depended upon a military victory. Neither were the English satisfied. King Charles II nursed a grievance against the Dutch government, had nursed it ever since he had been expelled from the Netherlands at the bidding of Oliver Cromwell. Moreover, he was closely connected with the great commercial colonial companies which keenly felt the Dutch competition. No wonder that the

second Dutch-English War broke out in 1665. That its cause however was commercial, is implied by Comenius himself.

In America the struggle is principally remembered for the reason that during it there occurred the seizure of the Dutch colony of the New Netherlands by a fleet under the command of the English King's brother, the Duke of York, who himself afterwards ascended the throne as James II. It was in his honor that the colony as well as its chief town were renamed New York. As for the fortunes of war in the struggle between the two maritime forces, they proved to be as fickle as such fortunes are proverbially asserted to be. At first, it was the English who were victorious. But when Charles' ally, Bishop Bernhard von Galen of Münster, invaded the United Provinces, the Dutch promptly obtained aid from the French King Louis XIV. Thanks to the English fear of the latter's intervention, the Dutch might began to prevail, even though the French Admiral de Beaufort did not actually join in the combat. The English navy was defeated in the "Four Days' Battle." This setback nonetheless was promptly avenged: in July, 1666, Admiral de Ruyter's fleet was defeated and a serious damage was inflicted upon Dutch commerce.

Yet, by this time, both sides were ready to call a halt to the indecisive struggle. Charles made peace overtures, which were promptly accepted by the Dutch. A peace conference was arranged, to meet in May, 1667, in the city of Breda. The pleasant old city, situated at the confluence of the rivers Merk and Aa, had been Charles' residence; thence he had issued his declaration in 1660 which defined the conditions under which he was prepared to accept the English crown. And the conference gave John Amos

Comenius an opportunity to present to the peacemakers concrete proposals which far transcended the immediate termination of the war, and advocated conditions of permanent peace.

Comenius is known to fame as "the father of modern pedagogical theory and practice." Many elements of the present-day educational system, such as the free and universal opportunity for education of members of all classes and both sexes; the use of the vernacular in teaching; correlation of thought with things; dramatization of the subject-matter of instruction; and the development of character, rather than merely the mind of the pupil, were advocated by the Comenian system.

But this by no means is Comenius' sole claim to fame. Besides advocating pedagogical reforms, he devoted his life to the ideal of peace — in church, in state, and ultimately in the world. Not only was he an early prophet of Christian ecumenicity; he was much more besides. He wished to unite the warring Christian factions whose strife was wreaking an unprecedented havoc upon Europe of the Thirty Years' War period. But in his aspiration he soared high above and far beyond the European boundaries and his own time. He wished to unify humankind on principles of an integrated universal culture based upon a religious foundation. This was his "pansophy," a vast, encyclopedic scheme comprising universal knowledge, on which he worked zealously and untiringly to the end of his busy and fruitful life.¹

It is no exaggeration, therefore, to affirm that the pansophic project constituted the central interest of Comenius'

1. cf. Matthew Spinka, *John Amos Comenius, That Incomparable Moravian* (Chicago, 1943.)

mind and heart. And it was the pansophic proposal which aroused such an enthusiastic interest in England that in 1641 he was called to that country by an influential group of churchmen and the nobility, among whom Dr. John Williams, the future Archbishop of York, was the most conspicuous. Parliament actually considered the advisability of assigning the Chelsea College, near London, as a suitable place for the "pansophic college" with which the Comenian scheme was to be inaugurated. But the outbreak of the Civil War in England prevented the realization of this bold project.

Disappointed though he was at the failure of the English venture, Comenius was not discouraged. The all-powerful Cardinal Richelieu manifested deep interest in his pansophy. Unfortunately, before any practical measures could be taken, the death of the great minister put an end to the French interest in the Comenian proposals. Yet, despite the fact that during the next few years Comenius was diverted from the pansophic endeavors, for he was employed by Sweden in the task of reforming that country's school system, he still, during this period, found time to project the pansophic program under the designation of *A General Consultation about the Improvement of Humanities*. (Twenty-five years later, in the treatise sent to Breda which is herewith reprinted, Comenius mentioned this stupendous project as still incomplete, but counted it among the three means for the realization of the world peace.) He also attended a Colloquy in Thorn, Poland, called for the purpose of working out a *modus vivendi* between the various Polish Protestant factions and the Catholics. This benevolent undertaking of the Polish King, Wladislaw IV, failed; still, the enterprise is to his credit.

Similarly during the Hungarian and Polish periods (1650-56) which followed the Swedish interlude, Comenius, despite his strenuous labors in school and church, never lost sight of his pansophic ideals, and more and more was turned by these towards direct political activity. In an effort to realize his grand design, he consecutively appealed to Prince George Rákóczy II of Transylvania, the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell of England, and King Charles X of Sweden. But all disappointed him. Finally, after the burning of the Polish city of Leszno where Comenius resided and the loss of all his property and many of his precious writings—among them the pansophic treatises upon which he had been engaged for decades, and some of which were almost ready for publication—the sorely tried, but still undiscouraged idealist found refuge in hospitable Holland. There he eagerly seized the opportunity to further his plans for a lasting and permanent peace, presented to him by the gathering of the English, Dutch, French, and Danish emissaries in the ancient city of Breda in Brabant.

With this aim he composed *The Angel of Peace*. The modern reader of Comenius' treatise undoubtedly will gasp in astonishment that anyone, least of all a man of the great educator's undoubted intellectual and cultural attainments, should address a diplomatic congress in terms and in language so essentially religious, if not theological. The astonishment, however, is significant of the vast changes which have taken place in the cultural environment and humankind's habitual modes of thought since the seventeenth century. To epitomize the change one needs merely to say that modern man has become so secularized that he is practically incapable of regarding the seventeenth century mode of reasoning as rational or con-

vincing. Under the influence of his secularist culture, he is so thoroughly persuaded that the forces which shape his world are exclusively natural, political, or economic in character that any other assumption or premise are foreign to him.

But to Comenius, an eminent religious thinker and a Bishop of the Unity of Brethren, it was plain that the spiritual forces are fundamental. The universe is founded upon spiritual foundations — truth, justice, righteousness, love — and no man or nation may disregard or defy them with impunity. No good world can be built upon selfishness or pride, hatred or injustice, exploitation or greed. These are the causes of war, and unless they are eliminated, wars will not cease. Accordingly, it is as unintelligent as it is superficial to seek peace and removal of causes of future wars without the elimination of the passions which inevitably lead to war. Thus he viewed the problem confronting the Breda negotiators not from some merely ephemeral point of view which took into account only the immediate exigencies of a political or military character, but from what the late President-Liberator of Czechoslovakia, Thomas G. Masaryk, himself a great admirer of Comenius, used to call "*sub specie aeternitatis*," from the point of view of eternity.

So vividly conscious was he of the eternal aspect of the temporal events that he spoke of the proceedings in terms which under any other conception would appear absurdly exaggerated. He bade the ambassadors to "sojourn at Breda as though in full view of the entire world, as though on you will be turned the eyes of all, in heaven, on earth, yea, and in the underworld." It is this attitude of Comenius, this deep conviction that both the primary causes of

war and the most efficient cures of it are spiritual in character, which render his treatise of permanent value.

Concretely, then, Comenius in *The Angel of Peace* addresses the ambassadors as representatives of Christian nations who, at least theoretically, concede the truth of his presuppositions. If only they lived their creed, he says, "an easy and rapid settlement of your quarrels, O men of England and the Netherlands" could be brought about. After recounting the sufferings, the losses both in lives and treasure, and the dangerous weakening of both nations to the advantage of their mutual enemies, he exhorts both sides to the wisest course of forgetting past quarrels, even wrongs, and achieving reconciliation and peace. "For the wise have always considered as the safest path to peace the remission of suffered wrongs." Since real grievances exist on both sides, both must act with moderation. But that does not imply some hysterical and fundamentally unethical program of securing peace at any price — even the price of unrepenting and permanent injustice. Comenius' is not the program of that kind of pacifist who makes no distinction between the degrees of injustice, and condemns both the aggressor and the victim of oppression alike, or denies the latter the right to defend himself. The causes of injustice must be clearly diagnosed and eliminated.

If these causes be political — monarchical versus the republican or oligarchical forms of government — then Comenius counsels both sides that "neither one nor the other form of government is . . . in itself bad." If the causes be commercial or economic, then he pronounces them abominable: for Christian nations should not strive merely for material gain. They should not be moved by

greed or avarice; for "godliness with contentment is great gain." It may be taken for granted, judging from the subsequent third war between England and the United Provinces, that neither this nor any other argument, no matter how true they are spiritually, were taken seriously by the assembled "realistic" peacemakers.

Comenius then proceeds to analyze the consequences of the commercial rivalries which gave rise to the Anglo-Dutch struggle. In his judgment, the foreign trade brought Europe more evil than good. "For it is obvious that we have indeed grown richer in possessions, manifold rarities, and delicacies, but also in the worst possible vices." Nevertheless, he does not counsel some Rousseauesque "back to nature" movement. We must learn, he says, to turn the expanded facilities of commerce to their proper uses, away from their abuses. The art of navigation is "an immeasurable gift of God." We must not think of abandoning it. To avoid conflict among the maritime nations which depend upon the sea for their chief means of support, an order must be established regulating their rights and privileges, as well as restraining them from usurping the rights of others. Comenius' sympathy with the Dutch in this matter is as natural as it is perhaps justified. "Especially the Netherlanders, if one consider their condition, are seen to be deserving not of envy but rather of friendship." But there is no partisan bias in this judgment of the Great Peacemaker; considering all circumstances, it would be difficult not to agree with him.

Like Hugo Grotius, who in his *Mare liberum* advocated the freedom of the seas, Comenius asserted the right of all to navigate and fish in them. But he does so on religious grounds. "The sea is His, and he made it."

Finally, Comenius admonishes both nations that the riches amassed in commerce should not be squandered in personal indulgence and luxury but devoted to proper humanitarian and religious uses. Simultaneously he is sensitive and mindful of the good — both spiritual and temporal — of the natives of the colonies and the foreign lands from which the wealth is derived. He would have dissented from the later doctrine, so popular in England of the eighteenth century, that colonies exist for the profit of the mother country; as from any modern doctrine of inherent racial superiority. The advanced and ethically high judgment of Comenius decreed that wealth gained in colonial trade should partly be used for the welfare of the native, partly for that of the poor at home. "The more gain one amasseth from his commerce, the more he expendeth upon the poor, orphans, wayfarers, almshouses, schools, temples, and other pious ends."

Moreover, the native of the colonial empire is not to be kept in ignorance and subjection. The light of the Gospel and of education must be brought to him. In fact, this constitutes the chief emphasis of the rest of the treatise. The foreign trade, the amassing of wealth from other parts of the world, are not a justifiable procedure unless the colonial power engaging in such commerce realize its inherent obligation to bring in return the blessings of culture and of religion. Comenius recognizes no inherent right of the white races to the exploitation of other "inferior" peoples. Almost prophetically Comenius foresaw the crying abuses of European commercial imperialism.

To spread the light of the Gospel among the non-Christian nations with whom commerce connects the Europeans, it is necessary that the latter become more truly

Christian. But Christians are disunited, and their mutual bickerings retard the practice of true Christian conduct among them. The first need, therefore, is the reconciliation of all Christians. For this purpose Comenius announces one of his works: "there is being prepared . . . an infallible indicator, *Christendom Reconcilable Through Christ the Conciliator*." From the unusually solemn tone in which he speaks of this treatise we must conclude that Comenius regarded this work as of extraordinary importance. But it was not finished at the time, and appears never to have been completed. It is possible that he intended to rework for this purpose an older work; for after the failure of the Thorn *Colloquium charitativum* (1646), he had prepared for King Wladislaw IV a treatise bearing the same title. The work is not extant. Whether the treatise promised to the Breda Conference was an expanded form of the earlier, or an altogether new work, there is no way of knowing.

But this reconciliation in itself was not enough. Since not all the world is Christian, the ideal of Comenius would not be reached even if the stupendous task of reconciling all Christians were realized. Therefore, he promised to prepare another work which would delineate the plan whereby all humankind could be included in an all-comprehensive scheme of cultural unity. This, of course, is a reference to his pansophic program, on which he had been at work ever since the thirties. He designates the forthcoming work as *A Consultation of the Human Generation with Itself on the Correction of Human Affairs by All Possible Means*. This *magnum opus* of Comenius' entire career was projected to comprise seven volumes, but only two were actually published: The *Panegersia* and the

Panaugia.² On his death-bed, Comenius bound his son, Daniel, by an oath to finish the great work. But nothing has ever been heard about it since. The undertaking was so stupendous that to carry out the intention of the author, the energies of a vast learned academy would have been requisite.

Meanwhile, since the works from which their author expected such great results — not because of some arrogant over-confidence in his own powers, but because he looked upon himself as a mere amanuensis of the divine voice — were not completed, Comenius offered the Breda Conference a publication which, in his judgment, transcended in value and in import the works previously mentioned. This was a book of prophecies, issued first in 1657 under the title of *Lux in tenebris*, and republished in an enlarged edition in 1665 as *Lux e tenebris*. The work deserves a fuller comment, without which the uninitiated reader is likely to be puzzled — to say the least — over the incongruousness of the circumstance that the Great Educator, solemnly and with utmost seriousness, dared to offer the practical politicians assembled at Breda, a book of prophecies as an infallible guide to the future. The pathetic faith of Comenius in these supposedly divine revelations is evident from his confident, and even urgent, instructions with which he charges the ambassadors to transmit the message of the book to their respective governments: "Let none of you imagine that this will be an ill-welcomed matter, because it hath been condemned by theologians for fanaticism and is an object of ridicule to politicians like unto madness . . . For it is God's fashion

2. For a discussion of the general contents of the first of these works, see my work previously mentioned, p. 107ff.

to perform his great works through that which is folly in the eyes of the world."

Despite his undoubted greatness of intellect, Comenius, it must be admitted, shared in the fairly common belief of the age in the continuance of divine revelations. Early in his exile, when on a mission to Poland, he had become acquainted with the "prophecies" of a Silesian tanner, Christopher Kotter; after a careful inquiry, he became convinced of their genuineness. Moreover, a ward of his, Christina Poniatowska, also was acknowledged as possessing the gift of prophecy. And finally, during the Hungarian period of his life, he came to accept, after a prolonged and sceptical testing as to their genuineness, the pretended revelations of his former school-fellow, Nicholas Drábík, a priest of the Unity. One cannot but view Comenius' zealous defense of the claims to prophetic gifts on the part of honest, even though mistaken, persons of intellectual caliber far inferior to his own, as a regrettable aberration similar to other great men's "Homeric nods." It is unfortunate that a treatise like *The Angel of Peace*, otherwise based upon sound spiritual and moral insights, should be marred by an element which must be accounted a product of the mistaken notions of the times.

Nevertheless, the essential message of Comenius' work remains permanently true: there can be no better world without a spiritual revolution—a transformation of human motivation and personality. His concluding appeal is that of a Seer who views the temporal from the point of view of the eternal: "Ye ambassadors of peace, then, that ye may do justice to your name, place in the scales not only the plans of men but also those of God; bear in mind not only what your kings but what the King of kings re-

quireth from you; have as your aim not war, but peace; and therefore remember that your negotiations must be conducted in a calm and even manner, not passionately, but frankly; not deceitfully, but with an open soul; not insidiously."

Comenius' appeal, as is generally known, failed. But in a larger and much truer sense, it was not he who failed, but the "peace negotiators" of Breda. For they failed to bring about peace, and in this they have been followed by all the other "peace negotiators" of subsequent times who, disregarding, or unable to heed, the only true bases of permanent peace, succeeded in patching up merely a longer or shorter uneasy truce, and failed in establishing a lasting peace. For permanent peace cannot come until men become spiritually mature. Only change in men can change the world. Only a spiritually mature humankind can create a good world. Comenius was fundamentally right, after all.

Matthew Spinka


Psalm 46, verse 7 and following:

The heathen raged, the kingdoms were moved: he uttered his voice, the earth melted. The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge. Come, behold the works of the Lord, what desolations he hath made in the earth. He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire. Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth. The Lord of hosts is with us; THE GOD OF JACOB is our refuge.


Isaiah 18, verses 2, 3, 4.

Send ambassadors by the sea, saying, GO YE SWIFT MESSENGERS, to a nation scattered and peeled, etc. All ye inhabitants of the world, and dwellers on the earth, see ye, when he lifteth up an ensign on the mountains; and when he bloweth a trumpet, hear ye. For so the Lord said unto me, I will take my rest, and I will consider in my dwelling place like a clear heat upon herbs, and like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest.

ILLUSTRISSIMI
REGUM ET RERUM PUBLICARUM
LEGATI
IN MUNDI NUNC THEATRO
BREDAE CONGREGATI
SALVETE!

TQUE si, qui Vos huc miserunt, *dii terrae* sunt (sunt autem, stilo caelestis curiae, *Exod.* 22, 28. et *Ps.* 82, 6) et Vos, *eorum legati, eorundem angeli* dicendi estis (quo etiam titulo Vos cohonestare per prophetam dignatus est Deus, ANGELOS PACIS appellans, *Jes.* 33, 7), gaudete Vobis id honoris contingere, ut caelestibus illis mentibus, quibus mundi custodia demandatur et qui nascente pacis principe Christo coelis effusi GLORIA *in altissimis* DEO *et in terra* PAX *hominibus bonae voluntatis* cecinerunt, annumerandi veniatis. Gaudete! Atque si etiam ipsius principis pacis legati estis, qui suos ad gentes legatos expediens inter alia hoc etiam mandatum dedit: *In quamcunque domum ingressi fueritis, dicite: Pax domui huic* (*Luc.* 10, 5), etiam Vos Belgicam ingressi dicite: PAX *terrae huic!* Addito: PAX *aliis quoque christianis populis! Pax orbi terrarum!* Ut ubicunque homines bonae voluntatis erunt, respondendi occasio sit: *Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem, evangelizantium bona!* (*Rom.* 10, 15.)

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS
AMBASSADORS OF KINGS & STATES
NOW GATHERED
BEFORE THE EYES OF THE WORLD
AT BREDa,
GREETINGS!

ND if those who sent you here are *gods on earth* (and so indeed they are according to the pronouncement of the celestial court, *Exod.* 22, 28 and *Psalm* 82, 6), and if ye *their ambassadors* are worthy of the name of *angels* (with which name God has in fact deigned to honour you through the prophet, speaking of the ANGELS or messengers of PEACE, *Isaiah* 33, 7): now rejoice that ye are so honoured, and that ye are numbered among the spirits of heaven, whose commission it is to protect the world and who at the birth of Christ, the prince of peace, came down in a multitude from heaven and sang: GLORY to GOD in the highest, and on earth PEACE, good will toward men! Rejoice! And if ye are also the ambassadors of the prince of peace himself, who sending out his messengers to the nations commended them besides other things this also: *And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house (Luke 10, 5)*, then do ye too, entering the Netherlands, say: PEACE *be to this land*, and add: *And PEACE to the other Christian peoples, peace to the whole world!* That wherever there are people of good will, they may answer: *How beautiful are the feet of them that preach*

2. Quia vero inter angelos etiam consiliorum et officiorum communicationem esse divinis ex oraculis discimus, potestisne Vos ANGELI PACIS ferre, ut aliquis undecunque voluntate Dei veniens, *Pacis quoque angelus*, aliquid eorum, quae ad pacem sunt, modeste submoneat? Ante omnia Vobis illud Christi: BEATI PACIFICI, in memoriam revocans! O vere Vos beatos, si opera Vestra felices hae duae gentes, voluntate Dei sibi vicinae et ab antiquo sorores, *Angli et Belgae*, feliciter inter se amorem et concordiam redintegrent! Tanto majore vicinis gaudio et congratulatione, quanto majora vicini omnes per mutuatam illorum discordiam perpessi sunt damna et tristitiam. Infelices contra, si rebus infectis ab invicem digressi pacis avidis mentibus, integris etiam gentibus, immo terrarum orbi (omnia enim bellis implicastis vestris) ansam dederitis lamentandi amareque flendi, *quod dissipentur viae, quod cessent transitus per semitas, quod irrita fiant pacta, quod projiciantur civitates, quod non reputentur homines, quod lugeat et langueat terra, quod confusus stet Libanus, quod Saron fiat sicut desertum etc.* (Jes. 33.) Annon tunc ipsi Deo pacis de irreconciliabilitate hominum (qui, mortales cum sint, iras suas faciunt immortales) conquerendi causa erit? *Quod pedes eorum tantum ad malum currant, quod festinent ad innocentem sanguinem fundendum; quod cogitationes eorum cogitationes inutiles sint, vastitas et contritio in viis eorum; quod VIAM PACIS nesciant et judicium non sit in gressibus eorum. Semitas*

the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things (Romans 10, 15).

2. We learn however from the divine prophecies that among the angels there prevaieth mutuality in council and service. Could ye then, ANGELS OF PEACE, permit that someone, from wherever he be by the will of God may come, also being an *angel of peace*, modestly recall to you something of that which toucheth peace, first of all reminding you of Christ's words: BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS? How blessed ye are indeed, if by your labours in common love and accord be re-established between these two happy peoples, neighbours by the will of God and brothers through long years, the *English* and the *Netherlanders*! And among the other neighbouring countries the greater will gladness and sympathy be, the greater the harm and sorrow they have been forced to suffer during the time of your mutual discord. But on the other hand how unhappy ye are if ye go your ways without a settlement and if ye give all souls desirous of peace, entire nations, yea, the whole expanse of the world (for ye have involved all in your quarrel!) cause for lamentation and bitter tears, because *the highways lie waste, the wayfaring man ceaseth: the covenant is broken, the cities are despised, no man is regarded; the earth mourneth and languisheth: Lebanon is ashamed and hewn down: Sharon is like a wilderness etc. (Isaiah 33)*. Will not the God of peace himself have cause to complain of the irreconcilability of men (who though themselves mortal make their wrath immortal), that *their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood: their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity; wasting and destruction are in their paths. THE WAY OF PEACE they know not; and there is no judgment*

eorum incurvari, ut, quisquis eas calcet, ignoret pacem. Propterea elongari a nobis iudicium; expectari lucem, et ecce tenebras! splendorem, et ambulari in caligine etc. (Jes. 59, 7. etc.) Et sic multiplicari iniquitates nostras coram Domino et peccata nostra respondere nobis, dum mentimur contra Dominum et avertimus nos post terga Dei nostri (vs. 12, 13). Ut exclamare adigatur: Nunc consurgam, nunc exaltabor, nunc extollam me. Concipitis foenum, parietis stipulam; spiritus vester ipse ut ignis vorabit vos etc. (Cap. 33, 10, 11.)

3. *Confidimus tamen de vobis meliora et viciniora saluti, tametsi ita loquimur, inquit Apostolus (Heb. 6, 9), spe misericordiae Dei erecti non frustra fore tot piorum per Britanniam et Belgium aliaque christiana regna ad Deum vota, suspiria, gemitus. Modo vos virtutem in Deo facite, ipse ad nihil deducet tribulantes vos (Ps. 60). Et festinate exhilarare illos, qui vobis utrinque bene volunt, ut confundantur; qui utrorumque confusionem quaesierunt. Fuerit machina exitii Vestri Danaum dolis in occulto fabricata diu; Vos eam in aperto disjicite hora una, virtute Dei! Parturiat Babylon montes, unde prodeat musculus; vos ostendite mulieres Hebraeas non esse sicut Aegyptiacas, ipsasmet habere obstetricandi scientiam, priusquam veniat obstetrix, parere (Ex. 1, 19). Fuerit tempus, cum oppressae Jerusalem clamandum erat: Dies tribulationis et angustiae irritationisque est dies haec, quia venerunt filii usque ad*

in their goings: they have made them crooked paths: whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace. Therefore is judgment far from us, neither does justice overtake us: we wait for light, but behold obscurity; for brightness, but we walk in darkness etc. (Isaiah 59, 7 and following). And so our transgressions are multiplied before the Lord, and our sins testify against us, when we lie against the Lord, and depart from our God (verses 12, 13). So that God must perforce cry: Now will I rise, now will I be exalted, now will I lift up myself. Ye shall conceive chaff, ye shall bring forth stubble: your breath, as fire, shall devour you etc. (Chapter 33, 10, 11).

3. *But we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak, saith the apostle (Hebrews 6, 9); we are borne up by faith in the mercy of God, that the appeals, sighs and lamentations sent up to God by so many pious folk throughout England and the Netherlands and other Christian kingdoms will not be in vain. Only do valiantly through God, and he will tread down your enemies (Psalm 60). And hasten to gladden the hearts of those that on both sides wish you fortune, and that those who desired the confusion of you both may be confounded. What though the machine for your destruction was long and with Danaic deceit built in secret? publicly and in an hour ye may with the help of God destroy it! What though Babylon is preparing to give birth to mountains, that from it should proceed a little mouse? shew that the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women; for they are lively, and are delivered ere the midwives come in unto them (Exod. 1, 19). There was indeed a time when beleaguered Jerusalem had perforce to cry: This is a day of trouble, and of rebuke,*

partum, sed non est virtus pariendi (Jes. 37, 3). In Vobis verificetur illud de Sione praedictum: Antequam parturiret, peperit; antequam veniret partus ejus, peperit masculum (Jes. 66, 7). Ut cito incipiat cantillari, quod ibidem sequitur: Laetamini cum Jerusalem et exultate in ea omnes, qui diligitis eam etc. Quia sic dicit Dominus: Ecce ego declinabo super eam PACEM quasi fluvium et quasi torrentem inundantem gloriam gentium, quam sugetis; ad ubera portabimini, super genua blandientur vobis. Quomodo alicui blanditur mater sua, ita ego consolabor vos. Videbitis et gaudebit cor vestrum et ossa vestra quasi herba germinabunt; et cognoscetur manus Domini erga servos suos et indignatio contra inimicos suos (vs. 10—14).

4. Illustrissimi legati, implete mensuram honoratissimi nominis Vestri, *legatorum PACIS*, et quorum geritis personam, *Christianissimi regis, fidei defensoris, evangelii propugnatorum provinciarumque unitarum*. Et quem ad modum Vos Deus nunc loco et ad tempus cohabitatione junxit officiumque Vobis omnibus idem, *publicae salutis procuratores esse*, injunxit, ita Vos jam nomina et rem jungite. *Legati pacis adestis? Pacifice igitur agite omnia. Christiannissimi regis nomine? Christiana igitur simplicitate, sine vi et fraude, fiant omnia, non alii alios territando, non alii aliis insidiando. Defensoris fidei nomine? Sanctissima igitur fide omnia, sine bilingui fallaciloquentia; turpe oris et cordis dissidium. Evangelii propugnatorum*

and of blasphemy: for the children are come to the birth, and there is not strength to bring forth (Isaiah 37, 3). But let there be fulfilled in you that prophecy concerning Zion: Before she travailed, she brought forth; before her pain came, she was delivered of a man child (Isaiah 66, 7). In order that people may soon begin to sing what followeth thereafter: Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and be glad with her, all ye that love her etc. For thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will extend PEACE to her like a river, and the glory of the Gentiles like a flowing stream: then shall ye suck, ye shall be borne upon her sides, and be dandled upon her knees. As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you. And when ye see this, your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall flourish like an herb: and the hand of the Lord shall be known toward his servants, and his indignation toward his enemies (verses 10-14).

4. Most illustrious ambassadors, do justice to your honoured name, your name of PEACE ambassadors, and to the name of those whose representatives ye are, *the most Christian king and defender of the faith, the protectors of the gospel and the United Provinces!* And as God has now brought you together in the same place and assigned you all the same duty as *representatives of the common weal*, so do ye now make name and thing one. Are ye here as *ambassadors of peace?* Then do all in a *peaceful* manner! Are ye here in the name of *the most Christian king?* Then let all be done with *Christian simplicity*, without violence and deceit; not one side threatening the other, nor laying traps to catch it! Are ye here in the name of *the defender of the faith?* Then let all be done with the sincerest faith, without false two-edged speech; for hateful is discord

nomine? *Evangelice* igitur omnia, intentione ad laeto nuntio exhilarandum christianum orbem; evangelium enim nostrum evangelium pacis est (*Eph.* 6, 15). *Unitarum provinciarum nomine?* *Unitis* igitur ad communes sanctas intentiones animis. *Ratio status* hic nulla cuiquam alia sit, quam *commune bonum* studiumque, ut amicitia, vicinitas, patria, foedera, commercium, religio non sint nomina, sed res, et quidem res non frigida et sterilis, sed fervens et fructuaria.

5. *Ego pacis angelus Vos Dei pacis nomine hortor, ut in hoc congressu Vestro nihil, nisi quae pacis sunt, agere proponatis*, certissime persuasi Vos BREDAE tanquam in amplissimo orbis theatro futuros, obversis in Vos omnium coeli et terrae, quin et inferorum oculis. Beatos igitur, si vos ita gesseritis, ut Deus pacis, qui omnes nos ad pacem vocavit et pacis osiores abominationi habet promulgarique sanctissimis oraculis suis *dissipandas esse gentes, quae bella volunt* (*Ps.* 68, 31), fecit, consilia et actiones Vestras felici successu prosperandi, angeli vero caelestes habitantibus in terra pacem gratulandi, et vestra regna et provinciae cum circumfusiis amicis gentibus in pace exultandi, turbarum vero sator Satan cum omnibus furiarum suarum organis ringendi causam habeant; dum vos vere *Noachi columbas* post vicinalium bellorum diluvia pacis olivam invenientes oreque suo dominis suis, a quo

between heart and lips. Are ye here in the name of *the protectors of the gospel*? Then proceed in all things *according to the gospel*, with the intention of rejoicing the Christian world with a glad message; for our gospel is a gospel of peace (*Eph. 6, 15*). Are ye here in the name of *the United Provinces*? Then let your minds be *united* for your common holy aims! Let no one here have any *special purposes* other than the *common weal* and the desire that friendship and neighbourliness, the homeland, mutual covenants and religion may not be mere words, but a reality, and that reality not dead and barren, but living and fruitful.

5. *I the angel of peace conjure you in the name of the God of peace that at this meeting of yours ye will take to your dealings nought but the things of peace*, with the firm conviction that ye will sojourn at BREDA as though in full view of the entire world, and that on you will be turned the eyes of all, in heaven, on earth, yea and in the underworld. Happy indeed are ye if ye so proceed that your intentions and acts may be blessed with a happy result by the God of peace, who called us all to peace, who abhorreth those who hate peace, and who hath announced through his holy prophecies that *the peoples who delight in war shall be scattered* (*Psalm 68, 30*), that the celestial angels even might congratulate on their peace those who dwell on earth, that your kingdom and provinces may together with the surrounding peoples rejoice in peace, but Satan, the sower of discord, shall be forced to grind his teeth together with all his helpers, while all shall see (some with eyes of friendship and gladness, others with eyes of jealousy and wrath) that you are true *doves of Noah*, finding the olive branch after the deluges of war between

quisque emissus est, referentes esse (hinc faventibus et gaudentibus, inde lividis et rumpentibus oculis) spectabunt.

6. Faxit pro misericordia sua Deus, *ut in Vobis Bredanis pacificatoribus illa Dei querela, VIAM PACIS NESCIERUNT, desinat!* (Jes. 59, 8.) Legatur Danielis visio statuæ magnæ quattuor monarchiarum mundi; quarum postrema, per divaricatos pedes ferreos et luteos significata, præfigurasse narratur, quod postremo mundi tempore consilia ita non cohaerebunt, quomodo ferrum luto cohaerere non potest (Dan. 2, 43). Et legantur historiae superiorum temporum nostræ et patrum memoriae, quam saepe gentium discordiæ enascentiaque inde atrocia bella infinite variis mediis componi ac sopiri tentata fuerint; nullo tamen unquam tali successu, qui exitialibus bellis finem, paci vero duraturam stabilitatem adferret, quidquid pactionum, pignorationum, sincerationum, sigillationum, fidei promissionum et compromissionum, juramentorum etiam, devotionum et execrationum adhiberetur. Tam verum fuit: *Nescierunt viam pacis*; ideo populis hucusque tam pacis quam belli artes *labyrinthus* fuerunt, errationes sine fine. Et *Sisyphæa saxa*, semper ad desiderii alicujus verticem operose volutata, nunquam tamen figi passa, semper se deorsum revolventia. Et *Tantalea fugacia poma*, hiantis desiderii ore semper captata, capi tamen se satis firme nunquam permittentia.

7. *An vero unquam aliter humanis in rebus fieri posse spes est?* Est, cum tempus venerit, ut lapis de monte sine manu abscissus percutiat statuæ pedes ferrumque et

neighbours, and bringing it in your mouths to your masters, each to the one who sent him.

6. God grant in his mercy *that in your case, peace-makers of Breda, may cease that divine rebuke*: THE WAY OF PEACE THEY KNOW NOT (*Isaiah* 59, 6)! Read Daniel's vision of a great image representing the four kingdoms of the earth; the last of them, indicated by the feet part of iron and part of clay, was said to signify that in the last days of the world there would be no unanimity of council, just as iron does not cleave to clay (*Dan.* 2, 43). And read the happenings of times elapsed in our memory and the memory of our fathers, shewing how often attempts were made with infinitely varied means to settle and assuage discord between nations and the cruel wars proceeding therefrom; but never with such success as would put an end to destructive wars and lend peace a permanent stability, no matter what covenants were used, what guarantees, words of honour, seals, promises of fidelity, compacts, yea, oaths and warrants on life and death. So true it was that *the way of peace they knew not*. Therefore until to-day the art of peace like the art of war hath been like a *labyrinth*, a wandering without end; like the boulders of Sisyphus, which, while they might be rolled with great labour to the summit of some desire, could never be firmly set up, but always rolled down again; like the fleeing apples of Tantalus, after which the lips of eager longing have ever reached, but which never let themselves be firmly enough seized.

7. *Is there however hope that one day human affairs will be managed otherwise?* Yes, there is, when the time shall come that a stone will be cut out without hands, which will smite the image upon his feet, so

lutum ejus ita comminuat, ut tanquam paleae vento dissipentur, lapis vero ipse fiat in montem magnum, implentem totam terram (*Dan. 2, vs. 34, 35*). *Quid autem hoc est et quando futurum?* Tunc temporis, quando Christus, angularis ecclesiae lapis, de caelesti monte zelum demittens suum, mundanas et antichristitanas vanitates (ferrum violentiae et lutum lubricae humanae sapientiae) conteret seque ipsum talem, qualis est (factus a Deo nobis sapientia et justitia et sanctificatio et redemptio, *1. Cor. 1, 30*), toti mundo potenter exhibebit, ut regnum illius, regnum gratiae, totam impleat terram. *Christianique esse incipiant, quod ex praescripto ejus esse debent, populus spiritu pauper, mitis, lugens, esuriens et sitiens justitiam, misericors, corde mundo etc.* (*Matth. 5, 3—10.*) *Lucens coram hominibus ita, ut videntes eorum opera glorificent Patrem, qui in caelis est* (*vs. 16*), *nihil de mandatis Dei, vel minimum, dimittens non impletum* (*vs. 19*). *Neminem occidens neminique sine causa irascens, nec quenquam facto aut verbo offendens; aut, si offendisse contingat, deprecans et reconciliationem corde sincero quaerens* (*v. 21—26*). *Libidinibus omne genus impollutus* (*27—32*). *A falsiloquio et perjuriis sic abhorrens, ut dicenti: est, est, non, non, plena fides haberi possit, nec ullis juramentis opus sit* (*33—37*). *Non rigidus injuriarum exactor, jure potius suo pacis causa cedens* (*38—44*) *eoque iniquis etiam aequus, inimicis etiam amicus, malevolis etiam benevolus et beneficus, ad imitationem Patris caelestis* (*45—48*). *Et quae praeterea se-*

that the iron and the clay will be broken to pieces together, and become like the chaff of the summer threshingfloors, while the stone shall become a great mountain, and fill the whole earth (*Dan.* 2, 34, 35). *But what does this mean, and when will it happen?* Then, when Christ, the corner-stone of the church, sending down His wrath from heaven, will crush the vanities of this world and the vanities of the Antichrist (the iron of violence and the clay of unstable human wisdom), and will shew Himself powerfully to the whole world as He really is (who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption, *1. Cor.* 1, 30), that His kingdom, the kingdom of love may fill the whole earth. *And that Christians may begin to be what according to His prescriptions they should be, a people poor in spirit, meek, mourning, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, merciful, pure in heart etc. (Mat.* 5, 3—10); *so shining before men, that those seeing their good works may glorify the Father, which is in heaven (v.* 16); *not breaking one of these least commandments (v.* 19), *killing no one, never angry with anyone without a cause, nor offending anyone with word or deed, or if the offence hath been made, ever asking pardon and seeking with a pure heart to be reconciled (v.* 21 to 26); *unspotted by passion of any kind (v.* 27 to 32); *so removed from lies and false witness that they may be fully believed when they say: Yea, yea; Nay, nay, so that oaths are not necessary (v.* 33—37); *never revenging wrongs severely, but rather for the sake of peace renouncing their rights (v.* 38—44), *and so just even to the unjust, and friendly to enemies, blessing them that curse them, and doing good that they may be the children of their Father (v.* 45—48); *and*

quentibus ibi capitibus a christianis suis requirit Christus. Quales si Vos, gloriosi pacificatores Bredani, Christo et Vobis invicem exhibueritis, extra dubium sit Vestros pacis tractatus vestraque consilia et conclusiones non ferrum et lutum fore, res per se viles, inter se vero incohaerentes, sed aurum et argentum gemmasque et margaritas, res per se pretiosas, durabiles et incorruptibiles et quae sibimet arte pulchra junctae splendorem splendori et pretium pretio amoremque amor addent.

8. Coeperam optare, ut vel sub primum congressum Vestrum aliquis in medio Vestri se sistens in memoriam Vobis illud Casauboni (quod ille dedicationi proemii Exercitationum suarum contra Baronium inseruit) revocaret: *Populi christiani divisi in sese et in funestas factiones distracti integrum jam fere saeculum imperatoris Turcarum negotium agunt et ad suam ruinam cum aeterno christiani nominis dedecore (Deus omen avertat) suismet ipsis sibi manibus, prob dolor, viam muniunt.* Eo fine, ut vos tanto facilius ad seria pacis consilia Vobis ipsis et dominis Vestris Vestroque exemplo aliis christianis persuadenda flecti queatis; certum siquidem est imbellem istam gentem, Turcas, non virtute propria, sed perpetuis christianorum dissidiis ad eam magnitudinem et potentiam crevisse, nec per alium nos nisi per propria nostra dissidia et mutuas desertiones ab illis superari. Nunc autem, dum Horatianum illud aurem vellicat:

*Oderunt peccare mali formidine poene,
oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore,*

what besides all this Christ requireth from his followers in the Chapters that follow. And if ye, renowned peace-makers of Breda, shew yourselves, to Christ and to one another as possessing these qualities, there can be no doubt that your negotiations for peace, your councils and your resolutions will not be as iron and clay, things in themselves of no value and mutually incoherent, but as gold and silver, precious stones and pearls, things valuable in themselves, lasting and indestructible, which, if they be united by cunning art, lend radiance to radiance, value to value, and charm to charm.

8. I have been filled by the wish that, perhaps before the beginning of your first gathering, someone should appear amongst you and remind you of the well-known words of Casaubonus (which he inserted in the dedication of the preface of his Exercises against Baronius): *The Christian peoples, divided among themselves and torn into destructive factions, have for almost a century been working for the Turkish Sultan, and are, alas, with their own hands, to the eternal shame of the name of Christians, paving (God forbid!) the way to their own destruction.* And this in order that you may more easily be moved to recommend true plans of peace to one another, to your rulers, and by your example to other Christian people. For it is certain that the unwarlike nation of the Turks have grown to such greatness and power not by their own courage, but by the perpetual discord of Christians; and we are defeated by them through nothing other than our own quarrels and failure to support one another. But there also echo in my ears Horace's well-known words:

*Oderunt peccare mali formidine poenae,
oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore,*

non optem Vos christianos in malorum censu haberi, si hominum duntaxat metu Vos ab iis, quae prohibuit Christus, retrahatis, sed metu potius ipsius Christi, legislatoris et iudicis nostri, aut, quod majoris perfectionis est, amore Salvatoris.

9. Agam tamen humanis etiam rationibus, quocunque modo Vobis belli odium, pacis amorem instillaturus; neutrius partis prae altera studio, sed communis utilitatis, decoris salutisque desiderio et ferventissimo, ut vestra ad tempus discordia in aeternam desinat concordiam, voto. Atque tum quid Vobis beatius? Quia si Vos (Angli et Belgae vobisque amico foedere juncti, christianissimus rex cum regibus aquilonis) vere uniti fueritis, quis Vos disuniat? Si communem libertatis (quae naturae humanae dos est) causam in commune propugnaveritis, quis Vos expugnet? Gentes omnes Vos tanquam communes a servitutis jugo vindices amabunt, juvabunt, pro Vobis orabunt. Et sic regnabitis quia per Vos regnabit Christus, solus ille et unus verus ab omni servitute, spirituali et corporali, liberator; *Joh. 8, vs. 32 et 36*. Prorsus *viam pacis nescierunt*, qui regibus etiam terrae sceptri loco spicula, enses, rotas, laqueos, cruces, ignes, carnifices etiam ipsos circumdederunt, formidabiles potius quam amabiles reddendo. Hoc ne magister optimus docuit? Haec ne ex illius disciplina, qui suis nihil nisi amorem, dilectionem officiaque mutua commendavit, veniunt?

Vos ut Vos populis amabiles reddatis, a Vobis ipsis

(*the evil are held from sin by their fear of punishment, the good by their love of virtue*); and I should not wish that ye Christians were accounted among the evil because merely from fear of people ye should be removed from what Christ hath forbidden, and not from fear of Christ, our law-giver and judge, or what is still greater perfection, from love of our Saviour.

9. But I will also adduce you human reasons, in order to inculcate hatred for war and love of peace into you in all possible ways; herein I shall be neither on one side nor the other, but always yearning for the common weal, virtue, and salvation, and fervently desiring that your temporary quarrels may end in an eternal concord. What bliss will then be greater than yours? For if ye are really united (ye English and Netherlanders, being joined by a friendly covenant, the most Christian king with the kings of the north) who shall separate you? And if ye defend the common cause of freedom (which is the birth-right of human nature), who shall overcome you? All nations will love you as allied deliverers from the yoke of slavery, support you, and pray for you. And so ye will rule; for through you Christ Himself will rule, the only real deliverer from all slavery of soul and body (*John* 8, 32—36). For *the way of peace they knew not* at all, who about the kings of the earth, instead of a sceptre, have gathered spears, swords, wheels, halters, crosses, flames, and headsmen, so making them rather to be feared than loved. Is this what was taught by the best of Teachers? Does this proceed from the teachings of Him who commended to His followers nought but love, and affection, and mutual help?

That ye may make yourselves worthy of the love of

incipite, in hoc amicabili vestro congressu hoc unum, aut certe primario agentes, ut amantium irae amoris redintegratio sit. *Turpe est simulates exercere cum eo, cum quo familiariter vixeris*, dixit quidam. An vero Vos Angli et Belgae, cum libertatum insidiatores utrisque jugum intentarent, consiliis et armis juncti non familiariter inter Vos vixistis? Et bene fuit utrisque. Ergo, ut maculam turpitudinis eluatis, ad familiaritatem redite; eritque iterum bene utrisque.

10. Equidem non sine divino permissu infelix hoc bellum inter Vos exarsisse cladesque mutuo acceptas tristes tot antegressa vaticinia et praesagia (quorum catalogus texi posset) ostendunt; non tamen causa tribuenda est Deo, sed satanae et organis ejus, in quibus ipsae pravae cupiditates apostolo teste. (*Jac. 4, v. 1, 2, 3: Unde bella et lites in vobis? Nonne ex concupiscentiis vestris? Etc.*) Festinate igitur ad pacem redire in confusionem eorum, qui Vos utrinque enervandi et dehinc perdendi desiderio exitiali huic implicarunt bello. Triumphare de invicem coeperatis utrinque (vere an vane, quid interest? si cum indecora voluptate), jam de illis triumphum agite, qui Vos per ipsos Vos debellatos jucundo sibi spectaculo proponebant. Aut si irritatores illi extra proprias cupiditates quaerendi non sunt, hos ipsos pessimos consultores dejectos in triumpho

nations, begin with yourselves, endeavouring, at this your friendly assembly, only, or at least mainly, to obtain that a quarrel between lovers may become a renewal of love. *For it is unpleasant to live on strained terms with him, with whom thou hast lived in friendship*, said someone. And have not ye English and Netherlanders lived in mutual amity, united in your aims and weapons, when plotters against freedom threatened to enslave you both? And all was well with you! That ye may now wash out a shameful stain, renew your friendship, and all will be well with you again.

10. Soothsayings and prophecies, of which so many have gone before (it were possible to compose a whole catalogue of them) shew, it is true, that this unhappy war did not flame up between you, nor were so many miseries suffered, without the permission of God; but the blame cannot be assigned to God but rather to the devil and his machinations, among which are lusts, as witness the apostle (*James 4, v. 1, 2, 3: From whence come wars and fightings amongst you? come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members? etc.*) Hasten then to return to peace, to the confusion of those who involved you in this destructive war, desiring to exhaust you and then to destroy one and the other. You have begun to celebrate triumphs one over the other (what matter it whether with reason or without? So much is certain: with a joy quite barren of honour!); now celebrate a triumph over those who proposed to derive pleasure from watching ye destroy one another! Or else, if it be not possible to seek these inciters elsewhere than in your own lusts, then cast down these worst of counsellors and lead them in triumph! Or are ye not yet

ducite. Nondumne ratione iram vincere, nondumne fraterno cruore satiari velitis? Aut Vobis proelia, caedes, rapinae res assuetudinaria et lusus erunt? Videte, ne ludicra exeant in seria, comoedia in tragoediam utrinque funestam.

11. Qui bellum hoc genti vicinae inferendi suasores erant, easdem proculdubio cogitationes habebant, quas bello Romanos aggressurus Pyrrhus rex. Nempe *ut Italia subacta Siciliam quoque et Africam et alias terras suae potestatis faceret ea ultima intentione, ut rerum dominio impetrato et stabilito secure agere, otiosi convivarique liceret, ut Plutarchus recenset.* Sed eratne inter consiliarios vel unus Cineas repertus, qui hoc idem jam tunc, sine ambagibus periculosaque alea, agi potuisse moneret? Aut fueruntne illius duri consilii auctores e senioribus, qui assistebant ante Salamonem? Vel adolescentes nobiscum nutriti, nihil nisi juvenilia consilia dare gnari? Si non id satis expensum fuit tunc, expendendi occasio datur nunc, dum ipse rex regum omnium dominator (qui nullius respectat personam neque magnitudinem cujusquam veretur) suas quoque cogitationes detegit: nempe voluntatem esse suam, ut hominum quisque sua sorte acquiescat, quomodo Altissimus gentes dividit populorumque terminos constituit, *Deut.* 32, 8.

12. *Et quid lucri, sua non acquiescere sorte, hoc etiam Vestro patescat bello.* Quodsi non inchoassetis, thesauri Vestri aerariaque Vestra non sic fuissent exhausta; non sic ad angustias reducta major subditorum pars; non tot milia fortium virorum periissent; non tot naves (arcium

desirous that reason should conquer wrath? Are ye not yet sated with the blood of brothers? Or perhaps battles, slaughter and rapine are to you a common thing, a toy? See that your jokes do not turn into serious matters, and your comedy into a tragedy disastrous to both!

11. Those who advised the infliction of this war on a neighbouring people proceeded no doubt from the same considerations as King Pyrrhus, when he wished to attack the Romans; that is, *that after subduing Italy he might subjugate Sicily, Africa, and other countries, with this first aim, that after gaining power over the whole world he might—as Plutarch relates—live in peace, rest himself, and make merry.* But there was found among his advisers at least one Kineas, who pointed out that all this might be accomplished at once, without delays and risks. Or were the originators of that cruel advice from among the elders, who stood before Solomon? Or youths reared with us, unable to give counsel other than youthful? And if this was not sufficiently considered then, there is occasion for consideration now, when the king who ruleth over all kings (who regards no persons, and fears no man's greatness) himself discloseth his own intentions, namely, that it is his will that every man should be content with his own lot, as the Most High separateth the sons of Adam and setteth the bounds of the people (*Deut.* 32, 8).

12. *And how we shall be repaid, if we wish not to be content with our lot, let this your war also shew.* For if ye had not begun, your private and state treasuries would not be so exhausted; the majority of your subjects would not be brought into such straits; nor would so many thousands of brave men have perished; so many ships (built like

instar structae) profundis gurgitibus cum tanta opum vi
mersae; non tantum sanguinis christiani undis marinis
permistum; non tot incendio perditae naves, pagi, urbes,
insulae amissae etc. Si aliqui utrinque (in mutua damna
hostiliter adversus invicem armati piratae) spoliis ditati
sunt, quanto plures alii suis omnibus spoliati ad nudita-
temque redacti? Si aliquos e hostibus (quibus autem
hostibus? Fratribus et vicinis, eheu!) occidisse jactavit
haec et illa pars, numeret vicissim, quot milia e suis
amiserit. *Estne operae pretium aureo piscari hamo?*
Alienum sanguinem haurire suo? Navem, qua tecum hostis
tuus vebitur, perforare, ut pereunte illo pereas? Sed quia
factum infectum fieri nequit, quid jam faciemus? Annon
bonum esset Israelitas imitari, qui bello civili inter se
(turpissima causa) concitato magnaue alterius partis
clade terminato venerunt victores ad domum Dei in Silo
sedentesque in conspectu Dei usque ad vesperam magno
ululatu coeperunt flere dicentes: *Quare domine Deus Israel*
factum est malum in populo Tuo, ut hodie una tribus
periret de nobis? (Judic. 21, v. 2, 3, 4.)

13. Si quis hostem infestum, exitium sibi optantem illud-
que occasione data procurare avidum habere se sciat et
tamen in ejusdem conspectu exitiosa sibi ipsemet attentet,
an sani cerebri esse judicabitur? Vos autem utraque pars,

castles) have sunk with so much wealth to the bottom of the sea; so much Christian blood have been mingled with the salt water; so many ships have been burnt; so many regions, towns, islands, etc., have been lost. And if on both sides there were some individuals (pirates, armed against one another to their mutual harm) who have grown rich with spoil, how many more have been deprived of all their property and stripped naked! And if this side or the other hath exulted, that it hath killed some of its enemies (but what enemies? Alas, its brothers and neighbours!), let it now count how many thousands of its own adherents it hath lost! *Is it worth while to catch fish with a golden hook? Is it worth while to shed foreign blood with one's own? Is it worth while to scuttle the ship on which thine enemy is travelling with thee, that in his destruction thou shouldst perish also?* But because what hath been done cannot be undone, what then shall we do? Were it not well to imitate the Israelites? For when they had caused among themselves (for a most shameful reason) intestine strife, and when this war ended in a great disaster for one side, the victor came to the house of God, and abode there till even before God, and lifted up their voices, and wept sore; and said, *O Lord God of Israel, why is this come to pass in Israel, that there should be to-day one tribe lacking in Israel?* (Judges 21, v. 2, 3, 4).

13. If anyone knew that he had a sworn enemy, who was thirsting for his destruction and yearning for the first occasion to carry out this destruction, and if in spite of this he were to attempt in the eyes of his enemy a thing fatal to himself, were it possible to conclude that he had a sane mind? And do ye, one side and the other,

Angli et Belgae, an eos, qui corde toto Vobis male volunt, nullos jam superesse creditis, ut Vobis ab extra securis domi Vosmet ipsos atterere liceat? Non cadit in prudentiam Vestram tantus error. Dormitationis ergo fuit (ignoscite! Bonus etiam quandoque dormitat Homerus), quod aliena fraude eo Vos abduci passi estis. Evigilandum!

14. *Utraque gens armipotens, integris sese viribus conservans, annon altera alteri pro muro esse potest? Alterutram vero debellari si contingat, altera suo antemurali nudata nonne debiliior erit? Quid vero demum, si utraque in alteram saeviens utrique sibi manus, pedes, brachia, latera amputabunt?* Prohibe Deus reprobum in sensum prolabi! Ne tandem ejulantibus nobis utrinque juba tollant, qui utrorumque exterminationi toto saeculo frustra inhiarunt, nec votis suis potiri (nisi demum cum nos ipsi nobis ipsis per nosmet ipsos illatis cladibus illis dudum optatae, sed hactenus nequicquam speratae victoriae viam paravimus, eheu, eheu!) potuerunt. An vero pulchrum putatis in historias referri *Angliam et Belgium* vinci non potuisse nisi a se ipsis et everti nisi per semet ipsas?

15. Breviter: *Si experimentum facere voluistis, utra gens bello et marinis proeliis praestantior sit, satis jam specimen dedistis mundo neutram facile posse vinci, everti posse utramque, si id utrinque operam dederint, ut sese perdant et evertant.* Et quia, quid vires vestras opponendo

English and Netherlanders, perhaps believe that there is no one who would wish you ill from the bottom of his heart, and that, having peace abroad, ye might destroy one another at home. In view of your wisdom such folly were impossible. Was it then merely owing to a nod (forgive me! but even the excellent Homer noddeth), that you have allowed yourselves to be lured so far by foreign guile? Is it necessary, then, to awake!

14. *One nation and the other is powerful in arms and men; might not then one be a bulwark to the other? And if it happened that one of the two were defeated, would not the other be weaker, being deprived of its bastion? What then will happen if both nations in their fury deprive one another of hands, legs, arms and sides? God forbid that this should ever be fulfilled, that amid our lamentations there should arise upon either hand the jubilation of those who for a century waited in vain for the extermination of one side and the other, and could not attain the fulfillment of their desires (until in the end we ourselves brought down destruction upon our own heads and prepared the way, alas!, for that victory which they have so long desired though so far in vain). Or were it in your opinion desirable that it should be recorded in history that England and the Netherlands could not be defeated save by themselves? That they could not be destroyed save by one another?*

15. In a word: *If ye have wished to try which nation is the stronger in war and seafights, ye have already provided the world with enough proofs that neither the one nation nor the other is easily to be beaten, but that one and the other may be destroyed if both sides do their best to destroy and exterminate one another. And as ye have*

possetis, jam ostendistis, ostendendi tempus erit, *quid eas jungendo valeatis*. Non ut vicino alicui terrori sitis, sed ut vicinis omnibus solatio, tanquam commune christianitatis antemurale ab omni externo navali potentia quenquam aggredi valente et volente hoste. Atque sic demum feliciter bellum hoc terminabitur, si mature terminatum Vobis ipsis novam firmiorem amicitiam, amicis novam firmioris praesidii spem, inimicis autem (si inimici esse pergant) novos frenos adferat.

16. *Quomodo autem novam illam amicitiam (seu amicitiae redintegrationem) inchoabitis? Anne a sancita inter Vos amnistia?* Tutissima semper pacis via sapientibus visa est *acceptarum injuriarum oblivio*. Asperius tractare vulnera est refricare dolorem vulnerique ipsi recrudescendi dare occasionem. Quod si verum, optandum foret fluvium *Aa*, Bredam placidissime perfluentem, tantisper in fluvium *Lethen* verti, cujus aquae gustu omnium praeteritorum oblivionem induci fabulati sunt poetae. Qui turbarum auctor fuit, inveniet eum Deus, tametsi pacis amore con niveant homines (*Gal. 5, 10*). *Sit justus prior ipse sui accusator* (*Prov. 18, 17*), hoc est, quem amicitiae ruptae inimicitiaeque exercitae conscientia sua accusat, justum erit ad amicitiam redintegrandam illum priorem quoque fervidioremque esse. Si pars laedens hanc justitiae partem neglexerit, partem laesam hanc laudis partem praeripere in

shewn *what ye can do when ye match your powers one against the other*, now is the time to shew *what ye can do when ye are united*. Not in order that ye might be a menace to any neighbour, but that ye may be a solace to all your neighbours, like a common bastion of Christianity against every outward enemy, who could and might desire to fall on anyone with naval force. And only in that case will this war end happily, if being terminated in time it bring to you yourselves a new and stronger friendship, to your friends a hope in securer protection, and to your enemies (if it be they continue in their enmity) a new curb.

16. *But in what manner will ye begin this new friendship (or rather renewal of friendship)? Will it not be in this way, that ye will agree to forget the past?* For the wise have always considered as the safest path to peace *the remission of suffered wrongs*. To touch wounds too roughly meaneth to revive pain and to give the wound an opportunity of opening again. If this be the case, it were to be desired that the river Aa, which floweth peacefully through Breda, should be turned for the present time into the river Lethe, of whose water the poets fabled that a taste of it bringeth oblivion of the entire past. Him who was the originator of quarrels God will find, even if men close their eyes from love of peace (*Gal. 5, 10*). *He that is first in his own cause seemeth just* (*Prov. 18, 17*); this meaneth: Whom his own conscience accuseth of the breaking of friendship and the shew of enmity, it is just that he should also come the first and the most zealous to a renewal of friendship. If the offending party neglect this task of justice, it will be to the honour of the offended party if he assume this task ac-

laude erit, philosopho dicente: *Ab aliis offensa, a te reconciliatio incipiat*. Fratres, tametsi alter alteri jurasset internecionem, ut *Esau Jacobo*, in congressu tamen nihil nisi amplexus, lacrymae, oscula, veneratio munerumque largitiones decent (*Gen. 33*). E morositate hic nemo laudem captet; promptitudini ea hic debetur. Eritque in exemplum apud posteros tum praepotentum ordinum pacem victoriis constanter praefluentium moderatio, tum heroicum serenissimi Magnae Britanniae regis factum, qui, de loco paci tractandae eligendo difficultate incidente, ut ne remoriarum aliquid injiceretur, ipsum hosticum (heroica quadam fiducia) elegit!

17. Si autem vulnera non superficie tenus, sed ab ima radice sananda sunt, *parrhesiam* adhiberi nihil prohibet, modo fastus et malignitas absint. *Melior est manifesta correptio quam amor absconditus, meliora vulnera diligentis quam fraudulenta oscula odio habentis* (*Prov. 27, 5, 6*). Hinc David, tametsi magnus rex: *Corripiat me justus, benigne habebo; increpet me, instar olei erit capiti meo* (*Psal. 141, 5*). Veniunt enim casus, ubi simulationi et dissimulationi locus non est, sed errata monstranda sunt aperte, ut agnosci et emendari queant. Hinc antiquitas *deum Elenchum, veritatis amantem libertate retenta*, finxit, infensum illis, qui magis alienae linguae verbera quam propriae conscientiae testimonia reformidant. Exprobret

cording to the words of the philosopher: *Let the insult begin with others, and peace begin with thee!* At a meeting between brothers, even if one hath sworn destruction to the other like *Esau to Jacob*, nevertheless nought other is fitting than embraces, tears, kisses, manifestations of respect and the giving of presents (*Gen. 33*). Let no one here seek praise for stubbornness. Praise is here reserved for good will! And both the moderation of wise states, ever giving the preference to peace rather than war, and the chivalrous action of the illustrious king of Great Britain, who, when there arose difficulties concerning the choice of a place for the peace negotiations, chose (with a certain heroic trust) a spot among the enemy themselves, that there should be no delay, will serve as an example to generations to come.

17. But if however the wounds are to be healed not only on the surface, but to the very root, there is nothing to prevent your acting with complete frankness, only provided that pride and malice remain afar! *Open rebuke is better than secret love. Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful* (*Prov. 27, 5, 6*). This is why David, although a great king, said: *Let the righteous smite me; it shall be a kindness: and let him reprove me; it shall be an excellent oil, which shall not break my head* (*Psalms 141, 5*). For there are occasions when there is no room for pretence and secrecy, but when it is necessary openly to point out faults, that they may be recognised and corrected. This is why in olden times there was created a god *Elenchus*, loving truth and complete frankness, and inimical to those who fear more the wounds of a strange tongue than the witness of their own conscience. Point out then manfully one to

igitur prave facta masculè alter alteri (Deo et conscientia amicisque testibus), sed ita, ut *exprobrationis finis sit injuriarum finis, non injuria nova, ulcerisque ab imo sanatio, non ulceratio nova.*

18. *Moderate nihilominus erit agendum utrinque, cum indubie non deerit utrinque, quod exprobetur, sicuti nec Deo causae defuerunt utrosque hoc bello castigandi et tamen etiam utrisque gratiam exhibendi. Ut enim fraternas inimicitias omnibus modis displicere sibi ostenderet Deus, utramque partem funestis cladibus inaeestimabilibusque damnis castigari voluit, neutram tamen penitus succumbere permisit, ut melioribus servaret utramque. Utrinque igitur servati gaudete, et quomodo Vos utrinque ad maiora servetis, in commune consulite, errore illapsas lites omnes quam rationabilissime et christianissime inter Vos componentes! Impossibile enim omnes inaequalitates non exaequari, si ad easdem divini et naturalis juris regulas exigantur; quod uno et altero (in rebus, quae Vos potissimum distrahere videntur) exemplo palam fieri non aegre feretis.*

19. *Si diversitas publici regiminis, monarchici et aristocratici, dissonantiam facit, assumendum est pro harmonia reducenda illud apostolicum effatum: Omnis potestas a Deo est (Rom. 13, 1). Nam si omnis potestas a Deo est, ergo non monarchica sola, aristocratica etiam, immo et democratica. Ergo ne quaerant sese mutuo impedire, nedum evertere, sed juvare; et erit concordia qualis inter corporis*

another your unjust actions (God, your conscience, and your friends will be your witnesses); but in such a way that *the end of your reproaches may be the end of injuries, and not a new injury, that it may be the healing of the sore to the very root, and not a new cause of ulcers.*

18. *Nevertheless it will be necessary to act with moderation on both sides, for doubtless neither one side nor the other will lack grounds for complaint; just as God did not lack reasons for punishing both sides with this war, and in spite of this for shewing mercy to both too. For God, in order to shew that quarrels between brothers are in all ways hateful to him, resolved to punish both sides with untold woe and immeasurable harm. But he let neither side completely succumb, that he might preserve both for better things. And therefore rejoice both at your salvation and take council together in what manner ye both may preserve yourselves for greater things, settling between you in a most Christian and reasonable manner the disputes that arose between you from folly alone! For it is impossible that all your differences should not be settled if they are measured according to the rules of divine and natural right. It will not perhaps be displeasing to you if I shew this in one or two examples (in things which, as it appears, divide you the most).*

19. *If then disagreement be caused by a difference in government, monarchy and aristocracy, there should be recalled for the renewal of accord the words of the apostle: The powers that be are ordained of God (Rom. 13, 2). For if the powers that be are ordained of God, then not only the power of monarchy proceedeth from him, but also that of aristocracy; yea, and of democracy. Therefore let them not seek to hinder, much less to destroy, but*

membra, tametsi alia aliis exstantiora et honoratiora, et inter montes, valles, planities, sese invicem loco non extrudentes. Certe si reges destruere cogitant res publicas aut res publicae debilitare reges, faciunt, quod apud Esdram *silvae debellare cogitantes mare, rursumque fluctus maris debellare cogitantes silvas campi, utrique dominium suum extendendi desiderio.* (4. Esdr. 4, 13. etc.) Sed utrumque conatu irritum; quia quae manus fundavit abyssum, eadem est, quae plantavit silvas, servarique vult utrumque, quia creaturis suis opus est utroque. *Et vero neutrum regimen per se malum esse exemplis in natura Deus ostendit, apes sub monarchia, formicas sub democratia vivere jubens, prospero utrinque successu, si nemo sit, qui turbet.* Nolite igitur Vos quoque turbare Vos invicem et nullae erunt turbae, etiam si haec vel illa pars praerogativa aliqua sibi placere pergat. Ut quod monarchia vires et consilia habeat unitiora eminentiaeque splendore divinae majestati sit propior, res publica vero habeat liberiores linguas, quae prudentiam acuunt, minoremque a cujusquam potentiae abusu metum. Et sic utrumque pulchrum est, si reges clementia regant suos, amicitia colant vicinos, republicani vero inter se vivant concorditer, vicinorum nemini graves aut molesti, officiis potius, qua datur, sese commendantes.

rather to help one another; and let accord reign as between the members of the body, of which some are more prominent and honoured than others; and as between the hills, valleys and plains, which seek not to expel one another from their places. And if kings think to cast down republics, or if republics think to weaken kings, they are patently doing the same as *the forests in Ezdras, determined to overwhelm the sea; and again as the waves of the sea, determined to overwhelm the forests on the plain, both from the desire to extend their sway* (4 Ezdras 4, 13 etc.). But the endeavour of both is in vain; for the hand which gave a bottom to the ocean is the same as established the forests; and it desireth that both should be preserved because both are necessary to its creatures. *And that neither one nor the other form of government is not in itself bad, God hath shewn by examples in nature, allowing the bees to live under monarchic and the ants under democratic rule, with complete success in either case, if there be no one to call forth confusion.* Then do not ye wish to confound one another, and there will be no confusion, even if one or the other side continue to assign any special prerogatives to itself, as for example that monarchy hath its strength and decision more united, and that by the radiance of its exaltation it is nearer to the divine magnificence; or that a republic hath more freedom of tongue, which whetteth wisdom, and that it hath less fear of the abuse of power. And so both one and the other are beautiful; if only kings would rule their subjects with moderation and behave in a friendly manner towards their neighbours, and if republicans would live in accord among themselves, neither dangerous nor oppressive to anyone, but rather recom-

20. *Si vero belli tam atrocis causa est (uti esse creditur) navigationum ad exterarum gentes et hinc mercimoniorum et lucri sibi invicem praeripiendi aemulatio et studium, tanto major turpitudine et noxa, quod gentes christianae (et quidem moribus, prudentia, religione tam cultae) tam inclementer inter se pro rebus hujus saeculi tumultuantur, de quibus inter christianos si lites oriantur, apostolus eas contemptibilibus in ecclesia tradi jubet (1. Cor. 6, 4). Excusabiliores ii christianorum videntur, qui pro fide ac religione bella gerunt, quia pro gloria Dei et animarum salute zelare videntur (ut Saulus, Act. 8 et 9). Quod cum hic ejusdem religionis consortes non praetendant, sed mere pro rebus hujus saeculi tantos tumultus cient tantaque inquietudine, cladibus, damnis non seipsos tantum, sed et vicina regna, adeoque mundum afficiant, quid excusationis afferi potest? Quanquam nec illi christianorum, qui pro Deo et religione belligerare videri volunt, factum suum purgare possunt, rem a Deo non mandatam, a Christo prohibitam, effectu cassam agentes. An enim christianos ultra Christum sapere velle pulchrum est, contra mandatum ejus zizania per vim eradicare conando? Et quo usu? Exemplum docent. Quid violentis adversus Valdenses in Italia et Gallia persecutionibus profectum est? Plena eorum in occulto ipsa Roma est. Quid in Anglia et Belgio? Res ipsa loquitur. Quid in Bohemia*

mending themselves by their readiness to serve.

20. *If however the cause of such cruel warfare is indeed (as it is held to be) rivalry and the endeavour to seize from another sea-routes to foreign peoples, and the markets and gain therefrom proceeding, then so much greater is the abomination and the guilt, that Christian nations (so cultivated in morals, wisdom and religion) should struggle in such a merciless manner over things pertaining to this life, although the apostle ordained that if quarrels arose among Christians concerning such things, they should be set to judge who are least esteemed in the church (1. Cor. 5, 4).* More excusable appear those Christians who wage war for faith and religion, as it seems they are zealous for the glory of God and the salvation of the soul (like Saul, *Acts 8 and 9*). But when in our case comrades of the same religion do not refer to such a cause, but call forth such storms merely for things pertaining to this life, and when they afflict with such great unrest and such great distress and harm not only themselves, but also the neighbouring kingdoms, yea, the entire world, what excuse is now possible? But neither are those Christians who desire that it should appear that they are waging war for God and religion able to justify their action, because they are performing things not commanded by God, things forbidden by Christ and barren of result. Or is it desirous that Christians should wish to be wiser than Christ, endeavouring against His commandment to eradicate tares by violence? And with what result, examples shew. What was attained by violent persecution of the Waldenses in Italy and in France? Rome itself is secretly full of them. What in England and the Netherlands? The facts speak for themselves. What in

et vicinis provinciis? Hoc, ut paleas quidem in aream vestram egerit flatus ille vester, suspiria tamen ad Deum in occulto aucta sint; quae si tandem exaudiet conscientiis-que libertatem reddet Dominus, quid futurum sit, ita videbitis, quomodo quid segeti nivibus hibernis obrutae fiat, dum vernus calor nives dissolvit, mundus spectare solet.

21. Nisi christianos puderet esse christianos (hoc facere, quae fecit et docuit Christus), permulta possent afferi, quae sopiendis facile et cito Vestris, o Angli et Belgae, litibus servirent. Quale est illud: *Ne resistite malo! Sed si quis percusserit dextram tuam maxillam, obverte illi et alteram. Et si quis tecum vult iudicio contendere tunicamque tuam tollere, dimitte illi pallium etiam.* (Matt. 5, 39, 40. etc.) Cui simile est apostolicum illud: *Quae pacis sunt, sectemur, et quae ad mutuam aedificationem* (Rom. 14, 18). *Si esca scandalizat fratrem meum, non manducabo carnem in aeternum, ut ne fratrem meum scandalizem* (1. Cor. 8, 13). Talia, ecce, sunt praecepta Christi et Spiritus ejus! Haec divini juris legum una, *pacis causa cedere jure suo*. Quam si christiani sequeremur ubique, alta pax esset ubique. Sed dum nos illud juris humani peritorum, *qui jus suum persequitur, nemini facit injuriam*, rationalius esse judicamus, fit, ut sub specie juris serviendo affectibus injuriis impleamus omnia pacisque loco turbas habeamus ubique.

22. Enimvero si Christi et apostolorum perfectionis

Bohemia and the neighbouring countries? Here, even if a favourable wind hath blown some chaff to your threshing-floor, in spite of this sighs to God have been multiplied in secret; if God at length hear them and return freedom of conscience, what then will happen ye will see as the earth seeth what happeneth to the snow-covered spring-corn when the warmth of spring melteth the snow.

21. If Christians were not ashamed to be Christians (to do that which Christ did and taught), it were possible to adduce much that would serve to bring about an easy and rapid settlement of our quarrels, O men of England and the Netherlands! For example, this: *That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also* (Matt. 5, 39, 40 etc.) Similar to this are the words of the apostle: *Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another* (Rom. 14, 18). *If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend* (1 Cor. 8, 13). Such are the commandments of Christ and of His spirit! One of the laws of divine right is *that one should renounce his right for the sake of peace*. If we Christians were to guide ourselves by it, deep peace would reign in every place. But because we consider as more reasonable the pronouncement of experts in human law: *Who pursueth his right doth injustice to no man*, it so cometh to pass that beneath the cloak of right we serve passions, that we fill every thing with injustice, and that instead of peace we have everywhere storms.

22. But if however it seem too difficult to follow the

regulas et exempla sequi arduum nimis videtur, saltem eousque Vos ne abjiciatis, o christiani, ut humiliora exempla priscorum sanctorum imitari aut difficile aut Vobis indecorum putetis. *Videte, quid Abraham ad lites cum nepote ex fratre suo Lot vitandum fecerit. Erat uterque jussu Dei patria egressus alienaque in terra familia et pecorum gregibus adeo auctus, ut eos terra simul habitantes non caperet eoque inter pastores gregum rixae orirentur (Gen. 13, 5, 7). Quid hic Abraham? An jus suum (quod esset natu major, honoratior, potentior) persequi Lotumque cum suis loco pellere? Nihil; amice potius omnia componere ulterioraque mala praevenire. Vocato enim ad se Loto dixit: Ne, quaeso, sit jurgium inter me et te pastoresque meos et tuos; fratres enim sumus. Ecce universa terra coram te est! Recede a me, obsecro! Si ad sinistram iveris, ego dextram tenebo; si tu dextram elegeris, ego ad sinistram pergam (v. 8, 9). Quam pulchre! Quidni ergo sancta sanctorum imitatio sit, si Angli et Belgae ulteriora mala praevertendi amore amice ad invicem dicant: Ecce utraque India, ecce omnes maritimae orbis plagae, ecce omnes insulae suis cum portubus in conspectu nostro sunt! Eligat altera pars hos, altera illos populos, cum quibus negotiationem exerceat libere, nemine inturbante. Annon christianum foret (vel in his praesentibus pacis tractatibus, post tot rixas et accepta utrinque damna) talem aliquam navigationum et negotiationum partitionem fieri?*

23. Si qua pars tergiversabitur solaque mari dominari

rules and examples of perfection given by Christ and the apostles, do not at least ye Christians abase yourselves so deeply as to consider it difficult or unworthy to imitate the lesser examples of ancient saints. *See what Abraham did to avoid quarrels with his nephew Lot. Both went up at the word of God out of their country, and in a strange land; their herdmen and flocks multiplied so that the land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together. And there was strife between the herdmen of their cattle (Gen. 13, 5, 7).* What did Abraham then do? Did he pursue his right (being older, more honoured and more powerful), and with his people drive Lot from the place? Not at all; but rather settled all in a friendly manner and avoided a worse evil. For he said unto Lot, *Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left (v. 8, 9).* How beautiful! Were it not then a pious imitation of the saints if the English and the Netherlanders, desiring to avert a worse evil, were to say in a friendly manner one to another: *Behold both the Indies, behold all the maritime lands of the earth, behold all the islands with their seaports before our eyes! Let one side choose these peoples and the other side those, to trade freely with them, and no one to hinder!* Were it not Christian if there were arranged (perhaps at this peace conference after so many disputes and so much harm done to both sides) some such division of navigation and commerce?

23. And if one side resist, and further desire *to rule the*

et oceanum in avaritiae aucupia possidere velle perget, metuat illud fulmen Dei: Vae vobis, qui domum domo conjungitis et agrum agro copulatis, donec aliis nihil restet loci, quasi solis vobis habitandum esset in medio terrae (Jes. 5, 8). Quod namque de domibus et agris dictum est, annon de insulis integrisque transmarinis terris (tanto magis, quanto major domo insula et agro regio tota est) intelligendum erit? Prorsus; praesertim cum maris dominium regale Dei sit, psalmista teste: Rex magnus Deus est super omnes deos! In cujus manu sunt fines terrae et altitudines montium ipsius sunt. Ipsius est et MARE, IPSE FECIT ILLUD (Psal. 95). Fastum ergo illum, quo maris dominium sibi mortalis vermiculus vindicare audet, compesci oportet, sive ab hominum aliquo, sive ab ipso Deo. Nam compesci ab homine quoque jubente Deo potest; ut aliquando Venetis a Ludovico, Hungariae rege, factum (qui bello superati imperata facere, etiam sigilli inscriptionem, qua se dominos maris jactabant, mutare coacti fuerunt) Zwingerus ex Cranzio memorat. Deus autem se solum maris esse dominum annon in Pharaone mari merso ostendit? Annon in diluvio, dum maris aquas evocando super terram effunderet? (Amos 5, 8.) Annon hodieque ostendit idem, jam ad imbribus terram obruendum undas maris evocans, jam rursum ad terram siccitate puniendum eas egredi prohibens, jam sub ipso mari fundum dirumpens illudque integras etiam insulas absorbere

sea and possess the ocean in its hunt for gain, let it fear the thunderbolt of God: Woe unto you that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that ye may be placed alone in the midst of the earth! (Is. 5, 8). It is not necessary that the same be understood of islands and entire maritime lands that was said of houses and fields (and this is all the more, the larger an island is than a house, and an entire land than a field)? Assuredly! Especially as command over the sea belongeth to *the inalienable rights of God* according to the testimony of the psalmist: *The Lord is a great King above all gods. In his hand are the deep places of the earth: the strength of the hills is his also.* THE SEA IS HIS, AND HE MADE IT (Psalm 95). It is necessary then that either some man or God himself crush the pride with which a mortal worm dareth to appropriate the lordship of the sea! For it may be crushed by man, if the will of God so ordain. This was once done to the Venetians by Ludwig, King of Hungary, as Zwinger recalleth, according to Kranz. (Having been defeated in war they were forced to do as was commanded them, and in especial *to change the inscription on their seal, in which they exalted themselves as lords of the sea*). Did not God shew by drowning Pharaoh in the sea that He alone is Lord of the sea? Did He not shew it at the flood, when he called for the waters of the sea, and poured them out upon the face of the earth? (Amos 5, 8). Doth He not shew it to this day, when He at one time calleth for water from the sea to drench the land with rain, and at another forbiddeth it to mount, that He may punish the land with drought; when He at one time breaketh through the bottom of the sea itself and commandeth the sea to swallow up whole islands, and again

cogens, jam ex aere immissa ventorum vi terribilem in modum mare concutiens navesque in profundum mergens, aut etiam integras classes in nihilum redigens. Cujusmodi potentiae Dei exempla annon ipso hoc furiosi belli Vestri tempore edita conspexistis? Si dissimulatis Vos, narrabunt historici.

24. *Hoc etiam summe notandum:* Si furor irae Dei evitandus et furor belli vestri sedandus est, *furorem cupiditatum primo componi necessum fore. Unde enim bella et lites in vobis* (inquit Jacobus), *nonne ex concupiscentiis vestris, quae militant in membris vestris? Concupiscitis, et non habetis; invidetis et affectatis, nec potestis adipisci etc.* (4, 1, 2.) Patet apostolum de concupiscentia habendi, *avaritia*, loqui, quam Paulus *radicem*, Democritus *metropolin* omnium vitiorum, alius *morbum incurabilem*, cujuscujus menti inhaesit, nuncupavit; poëta vero *hydropi* assimilavit, ubi *quo plus sunt potae, plus sitiuntur aquae*. Alius *rabiem* dixit, quae quidquid molitur, merae stultitiae opus manifestaeque delirationis effectus est; ut patuit in morione illo, qui *baculi usum viatori ad canes abigendos corpusque fulciendum utilem esse audiens, quidquid baculo simile vidit, sustulit, eorumque tantam molem aliquando, ut vix bajulando esset, gestavit*. Quam stultitiam prorsus imitantur avari, necessaria vitae ultra vitae necessitatem aggerando, ubi sibi non usui, sed oneri sint. Atque si sibi solum, non aliis insanirent, ferri posset; sed quia ideo possi-

at another sendeth down from on high the power of the winds and furiously agitating the sea sinketh ships to the bottom, or even destroyeth entire fleets? Have ye not seen that such examples of God's might were given during the course of this war of yours? Or if ye do not wish to see this, the historians will not be silent!

24. *Of this also must ye make careful note: If we are to avoid the violence of God's wrath, and if the violence of your war is to be quelled, it will be necessary that the violence of desire be first calmed, for from whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence (saith James) even of your lusts that war in your members? Ye lust, and have not: ye envy, and desire to have, and cannot obtain (4, 1, 2).* It is apparent that the apostle is here speaking of the lust for property, of *avarice*, which Paul called the *root* and Democritus the *metropolis* of all evils, and yet another a *malady incurable* to him in whose soul it hath established itself; the poet again likened it to *dropsy*, in which *the more one drinketh the greater doth one's thirst become*. Another again hath called it an *obsession*, whose every act is an act of sheer folly and a result of apparent madness. This was shewn in the case of *that fool who heard that a staff is useful to an honest man to drive away dogs and to support him with. And he picked up everything that looked like a staff, and was finally bearing such a burden of them that he could scarcely drag himself along*. This folly is well imitated by the avaricious, who accumulate the requirements of life beyond all need, so that they are of no use to them, but a burden. And if they were to commit their follies at their own expense only, and not at the expense of others, this were to be suffered; but because they wish to have

dere volunt, ut aliis possidere non liceat, et quidquid animo hauriunt oculisque devorant, id manibus rapiunt et aliis praeipiunt, in eo aperte injustitiam et praedas agunt, hoc ipso se intolerabiles Deo et hominibus reddentes. DEO, quia bonitatis ejus rivulis ad omnes dimanantibus obstacula ponunt; *hominibus*, quia apud eos nulla cognitionis, amicitiae, religionis jura valent, quin per fas et nefas ad se rapiant omnia. Unde aliarum infinitarum confusionum scaturigo.

25. Non mirum igitur, quod filius Dei corruptelas in genere humano emendare missus et carne induta in mundo conversatus, ut morbo huic remedia ostenderet, data opera nihil possidere voluit, *beatius esse dicens dare quam accipere*. Testatusque *nullius hominis vitam in opum abundantia esse sitam* (Luc. 12, 15) protestatus etiam *neminem posse Deo servire et mammonae*. Non ergo sollicitos esse debere pios de alimento et vestitu (*gentile hoc esse et cum contumelia caelestis patris, qui per se, quid nobis opus sit, intelligit, conjunctum*), hoc potius, *ut regnum Dei et justitiam ejus quaeramus, reliqua illa adjectum iri*. (Matth. 6, 24. etc.) Quam vere caelestem ditescendi artem, a caelesti magistro haustam, aliis rursum tradere non intermiserunt fidi ejus discipuli, apostoli; ut Paulinum illud ostendit: *Magnus pietatis quaestus est animus sua sorte contentus! Nihil enim intulimus in mundum, nihil efferemus inde; habentes igitur alimenta et tegumenta acquiescamus*. Nam qui volunt divites fieri,

so much that others can have nought, and because whatever they grasp in their thoughts and swallow with their eyes they also grasp at with their hands and deprive others thereof, they obviously commit an injustice and theft, and make themselves abominable to God and man; to GOD for this reason, that they block up the springs of his bounty, which should flow to all; and to *man* because they recognise no rights, relationship, friendship or religion, but right or wrong grasp everything for themselves. Hence proceed innumerable other ills.

25. It is therefore no wonder that the Son of God, when He was sent to correct the mistakes of the human generation and when He dwelled on the earth in human guise, purposely desired to have no property, in order to shew remedies for this malady, saying that *it is more blessed to give than to receive*. He witnessed *that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth* (Luke 12, 15), and also declared *that no one can serve God and mammon*. *The righteous are to take no thought for what they shall eat, or what they shall put on (which is a heathen custom, and joined with contumely of the heavenly Father, who knoweth that we have need of all these things), and this all the more that these things will be added unto us, that we may seek the kingdom of God, and his righteousness* (Matt. 6, 24, etc.). This celestial art of the real enrichment of oneself, obtained from the heavenly teacher, was without intermission again handed on to others by His faithful disciples, the apostles, as is shewn by the words of Paul: *Godliness with contentment is great gain. For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. And having food and raiment let us be therewith content. But they*

incidunt in tentationem et laqueos Diaboli et in desideria multa inutilia, nociva, quae homines mergunt in interitum et perditionem. (1. Tim. 6, 6. etc.)

26. Quae divina consilia si non auditis, o christiani, stabunt adversus vos in iudicio pagani, sola naturali rationis luce pestem illam fugiendam esse rati. Testimonio sunt tot aurea illorum dicta et exempla. Ut est illud Senecae: *Cupiditati nihil satis est, naturae satis est etiam parum.* Item: *Nil te monuisse malim quam hoc, ut omnia naturalibus desideriis metiaris, quibus aut gratis satis fit aut parvo; tantum miscere vitia desideriis noli.* Quaeris, *quali mensa, quali argento afferantur cibi aut qualibus ministeriis?* Nihil praeter cibum natura desiderat. Epicurus ipse: *Cui pauca non sufficiunt, ei nihil satis est,* dixit. Socrates interroganti, *quis ditissimus esset, paucissimis contentus,* respondit. Causam addidit Pythagoras: *quia simillima Deo vita est sibi ipsi sufficere sine adminiculis externis.* Et Apulejus: *Certum infirmitatis signum est pluribus indigere.* Prorsus ad vivendum sicut ad natandum is melior, qui onere liberior. Prudenter igitur Horatius:

*. . . . fuge magna! Licet sub paupere tecto
reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos.*

Et Martialis:

*Illam placet tellus, in qua res parva beatum
me facit et tenues luxuriantur opes.*

that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition (1. Tim. 6, 6, etc.).

26. And if ye follow not this divine counsel, O Christians, there will stand in judgment against you the pagans, who, enlightened merely by their natural reason, recognised that it is necessary to avoid this pest. To this witness is borne by so many of their golden sayings and precepts, such as that of Seneca: *Nought is enough for cupidity, but nature is satisfied with little*, or: *Nought would I more gladly recall to thee than this, that thou shouldst measure all by natural requirements, which are satisfied either for nothing or very cheaply: but confuse not requirements with vices. Dost thou ask on what table, on what silver or in what vessels the meats are laid before thee? Nature requireth nought but the meats*. Epicurus himself said: *To whom little is insufficient, he is not satisfied with anything*. Socrates, to the question who is richest, answered: *He whose needs are fewest*. The reason for this was added by Pythagoras, that namely *the most similar life to that of God is one which is self-sufficient, and without external supports*. And Apuleius: *Many requirements are a sure sign of weakness. For life as for swimming he is the best equipped who is least weighed down*. With reason then saith Horace:

. . . *fuge magna! Licet sub paupere tecto
reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos.*

(Flee excess! Beneath a poor roof it is possible to derive more from life than kings and the friends of kings).

And Martial:

*Illa placet tellus, in qua res para beatum
me facit et tenues luxuriantur opes.*

Et Dionysius Cato:

*Commoda naturae nullo tibi tempore deerunt,
si fueris contentus eo. quod postulat usus.*

Exempla vero vitae frugalis apud eosdem si quaerantur, facile magnos reges et imperatores integraque regna et res publicas reperire erit, ubi quanto major temperantia et rerum simplicitas, tanto tranquillior rerum status fuit; sicut e contrario, ubi pompa et luxus, ibi rerum perturbationem, dissidia, bella rerumque interitum reperiri.

27. Haud vane igitur sapiens visum fuit Heracliti philosophi factum, qui seditione orta rogatus, ut ad populum oratione habita, quo pacto civitas in concordiam redigi posset, doceret, suggestu consensu calicem poposcit aquae frigidae farinaeque paululum et de glochone (leguminis genus fuit) nonnihil, miscuit in omnium conspectu epotoque calice discessit nullo addito verbo; innuens hoc pacto ita demum civitatem seditione carituram, si omnes deliciis repudiatis parvo contenti esse assuescerent. Quod consilium si datum civitati salubre fuit, erit etiam integris regnis terrisque sibi vicinis datum. Quod facit, ut ego Vobis, pacis legatis ex utraque gente congregatis Bredae, talem aliquem sapientem Heraclitum optem, qui Vobis

(That land pleaseth me, where poor things make me happy and small riches are luxury).

And Dionysius Cato:

Commoda Naturae nullo tibi tempore deerunt si fueris contentus eo, quod postulat usus.

(Thou wilt never lack the things which nature giveth if thou art content with what thy needs demand). And if examples of modest living were also sought in their works, it were easy to find great kings and rulers and entire kingdoms and free states where the conditions were better, the greater were moderation and simplicity; as on the contrary where there is pomp and luxury, there are found disturbances, quarrels, wars, and extinction.

27. Not without reason, then, was the action of the philosopher Heraclitus deemed wise, who after the outbreak of a revolt was requested to speak to the people and expound how concord might once more be restored to the community. Having mounted on to the platform, he asked for a cup of cold water, a little flour and some glochon (which was a kind of vegetable), and having mixed them together before the eyes of all the people, drank the contents of the cup and went away, without adding a word. He indicated in this way that the community would only then be free from revolts when all should renounce luxury and learn to be satisfied with little. And if this counsel was wholesome when it was given to the community, it will also be wholesome if it is given to entire kingdoms and neighbouring lands. For this reason I should desire that ye, peace ambassadors of both nations gathered together in Breda, might find some such wise Heraclitus, who were capable and would desire by some powerful speech, gest, saying, allegory, or any means

et per Vos Vestris omnibus potenti aliquo sermone aut gestu aut apophthegmate vel emblemate et quacunque arte frugalitatis commendare, suadere et persuadere vellet, sciret, posset amorem et studia. Emoriar, si non illico aut omnes aut praecipuas belli faces extinctas videre esset.

28. Utrum vero utriusque gentis, an alterius dumtaxat, et utrius majores excessus passa sit temperantia, quia pronuntiare aut temerarium aut invidiosum esset, non pronuntio; sit justus accusator sui. Hoc tantum dubitare Vos nolim, o litigantes Angli et Belgae, de litigiis Vestris melius judicare posse alios quam Vos ipsos, quemadmodum nebulam melius videre potest, qui extra illam est, quam ea obnubilatus. Et qui alea ludentibus vel disputatione concertantibus aut per iram altercantibus adstat spectator-emque tantum agit, melius de ludo, disputatione, altercationeque ipsa judicare posse putatur ideo, quia liberior ab affectu (nempe vincendi cupiditate curaque ac sollicitudine, spe aut metu) liberiores habet mentem. Fieri ergo non posse, quin orta inter Vos apud externos primum (in remotis insulis ac portubus) altercatione continuatisque domi jurgiis, in apertam tandem hostilitatem et cruenta bella erumpentibus, spectatrix Europa tum de causis belli, tum de modo illius gesti (quam legitimus ab hac vel illa parte hactenus fuerit), tum de ipsis belli eventibus, quales metuendi veniant, judicium sibi sumat formareque id rectius posse quam Vos ipsi confidat.

29. Quale ergo de Vobis judicium est? In genere primum dicam. Quicunque altius rem expendunt, non possunt non dubitare, *utrum plus boni an mali Europeorum istae ad alios orbes navigationes Europae attulerint*. Cum mani-

whatsoever to recommend and inculcate in you and through you love and devotion to moderation. May I die if all or at least the chief torches of war were not at once extinguished.

28. Whether however temperance was exceeded by both nations, or only one, and by which most, to say this were either bold or invidious, and therefore I say nothing; he that is first in his own cause seemeth just. But I should greatly desire that ye doubt not, disputing English and Netherlanders, that others can much better judge of your quarrels than ye yourselves, just as he can better see the smoke who is beside it than he who is enveloped therein, and he who standeth as a mere spectator by those who play at dice, or argue, or quarrel in anger, can best judge of the game, the argument, the quarrel; and for this reason, that being less interested, his mind is freer from the desire for gain, from cares and anxiety, hope and fear. If then discord arose between you first of all abroad (in distant islands and ports), if your quarrels were continued at home, and if they finally broke out into open enmity and cruel wars, it is not possible but that the watching Europe should pass judgment both on the causes of the war and the manner of its conduct (how it hath hitherto been legitimate on one side or the other) and finally on the results of the war which are to be feared, confident that it can form a better judgment than ye yourselves.

29. What, then, is the judgment concerning you? First I will speak generally. Whatever people judge the matter from a higher point of view, they cannot be in doubt concerning the issue *whether the navigations of Europeans to other lands have brought more good or evil to Europe*. For

festum sit nos opibus quidem, raritatibus variis, cupediis etiam factos esse auctiores, sed et teterrimis vitiis deteriores. Nam Africano auro et Americano argento Asianisque unionibus et gemmis opplevisse Europam quid prodest, dum aucto in immensum metallo aucta simul in immensum sunt rerum pretia; ut nunc auri tonnam possidere non plus fere sit quam avorum aetate aureos aliquot possedissemus nummos. Ad quid ergo quantitas major, cujus (juxta philosophos) nulla est efficacia? Gemmae, margaritae, holoserica similesque Asianorum deliciae quid nobis attulerunt? Luxum, fastum, mollitiem ventosaque crepundia. Verbo, ne hilo quidem facti sumus meliores, si non omnimode deteriores. Ut qui seria rerum amant, non possint priscorum saeculorum simplicitatis laudatoribus non ad stipulari beataque saecula non nostra haec superfluitatibus onusta, sed antiqua illa paucissimis (iisque domi natis) contenta praedicare.

30. Enimvero quia *nautica ars ingens Dei donum agnoscenda est, nisi in Deum ipsum ingrati et in ipsa commoda vitae injurii esse volumus*, non de illa usu intermittenda, sed de malis, quae per abusum irrepserunt (avaritia dico, invidia mutua, odiis cruentisque bellis, quibus nos in barbarorum conspectu conficimus), sistendis cogitandum est; ut, quibus potissimum longinquae istae navigationes, quo fine et quibus condicionibus frequentandae sint, amice inter christianos conveniat. Jus quidem praetendent omnes, qui oceanum accolunt (Hispani, Lusitani, Galli, Angli, Belgae etc.), ordine tamen aliquo esset opus, ne se invicem

it is obvious that we have indeed grown richer in possessions, manifold rarities and delicacies, but also in the worst possible of vices. For what profit is there from the fact that Europe hath loaded herself with African and American silver and the pearls and precious stones of Asia, if with the immoderate increase of metal prices have at the same time risen immoderately, so that today a measure of gold meaneth scarcely more than what a few ducats were to our grandparents. Why then increase the quantity, which (according to the philosophers) hath no efficacy? What have precious stones, pearls, silken materials and similar Asiatic gewgaws brought us? Luxury, pride, effeminacy and empty trinkets. We have in short grown not one hair's breadth better, if we have not in many respects grown worse. So that they that love frankness cannot but add their voices to the extollers of ancient simplicity, and pronounce as blessed not these times of ours, weighed down with superfluities, but those old times which were content with little (and that of native extraction).

30. But because *it is necessary to recognise the art of navigation as an immeasurable gift of God, if we do not desire to be ungrateful towards God himself and also unjust towards the benefits of life*, we must not think of abandoning it, but consider how to put an end to the evils which have arisen through its abuse (I mean avarice, mutual envy, hatred and cruel wars, by which we destroy one another in full view of the barbarians); that Christians might thus agree in a friendly manner which nations shall undertake these long voyages, to what end, and under what conditions. All indeed who dwell by the ocean (the Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, Netherlanders, etc.), will point to their rights, but it will be necessary to establish

turbent, observato etiam, quinam aliis eo aptiores videantur, cum non omnes ad omnia nascamur; aut etiam, quinam hoc quaestus genere indigentiores, cum palam sit Europae terras non omnes eadem domi felicitate cum aliis gaudere. Exempli gratia Gallia, flos orbis terrarum dicta, paradus terrestris videri possit respectu Norvegiae aliarumque nonnullarum. Nec multum amoenitate cedit Anglia. Harum ergo incolis quid prohibet terrae promissae Salomonicisque temporibus felicitate frui? Ut quisque sedendo sub vite sua et ficu sua aliis labores, sudores periculaque, quae pro vitae sustentatione subire necesse habent, ne invidiant. Belgarum nominatim condicio quae sit, si quis expendat, non invidia dignos inveniet, sed favore. Quippe quibus populum multum, terrae vero parum dedit Deus; sed addidit ad quaerendum panem ingenium et ad sustentandum labores manuum robur indefessamque alacritatem. Alluique praeterea eos iussit tot fluminibus et mari, omnipatenteque etiam oceano, ut enixos labores suos evehere panemque domum revehere queant; cur tam impensi sudores illis invideri debeant? Praesertim cum operosis suis quaquaversum navigationibus non sibi solis, sed plerisque aliis nationibus (superflua illorum bona evehendo, necessaria vero illis rursum advehendo) serviant.

31. Verum est, quod ajunt, *suis quemque attendere debere commodis*; sine aliorum incommodo tamen. Prius enim ipsa natura suadet, posterius Deus prohibet. Ordine

some order, that they may not hamper one another. In this connection it is also necessary to bear in mind which peoples are more fitted for this than others (for we are not all born fitted for everything), and also which are in most need of this kind of gain, as it is apparent that not all the lands of Europe are so blessed with wealth at home as some. For example France, named the flower of the earth, might appear a heaven on earth in comparison with Norway and some other lands. In charm England standeth not far behind her. What then preventeth the citizens of these lands from enjoying the bliss of the promised land and the times of Solomon, each sitting beneath his vine and his fig tree and not envying others the labours which they must undertake in the sweat of their brow and amid perils in order to preserve their lives? Especially the Netherlanders, if one consider their position, are seen to be deserving not of envy but rather of friendship. For God hath given them many people but little land; He hath added however wit in the winning of bread, strong hands with which to labour, and an untiring energy. Besides this He hath set them beside so many rivers and the sea, yea the broad ocean itself, that they are able to export the fruits of their labours and in return import bread; why should they be envied for such extreme exertions? Especially when by their laborious voyages to all parts they serve not only themselves, but also numerous other nations (exporting their superfluous goods and importing to them in return those things which they require).

31. Truth it is *that each should mind his interests*, but of course without detriment to others. For the first thing Nature herself recommendeth, while God forbiddeth the

igitur ordinisque vinculo, charitate, ubique opus est, ut ne quis commodi sui causa alterius commoda praeripiendo in aeterni ordinis leges peccet. *In vita versandum est ut in convivio*, dixit Epictetus; *si quid circumferendo ad te perlatum fuerit, extensa modeste manu accipito*. Nondum adest? *Appetitum longe ne extendito! Praeteriit? Ne detine!* Pulchrum consilium; etiam ad magnum convivium magni Dei, quod humano generi apparat quotidie, applicatum!

32. Ergo si quid contra vicinalis ordinis leges apud nos quoque peccatum est errore, emendandum erit consilio; et quidem cito, ut ne obfirmata erroris continuatione ad extrema veniatur, ubi emendationi locus non sit, multis id exemplis docentibus, quomodo ex levissimis etiam causis ortae lites, ratione non sopitae, in tragicum quid exeant. Unum attingam terribile, quod (ex Bernardi Scard. lib. 3. Hist. Pat.) Zwingerus narrat. *Limineorum domum Patavii floruisse; ex qua duo fratres cum post caenam prodiissent nocteque serena alter caelum suspiciens optare sibi tot boves diceret, quod stellas fulgere conspiceret, alterum joco reposuisse: Si autem mihi pratum esset tam amplum, ut caelum est, ubi tu boves tuos pasceres? In tuo prato*, respondit prior. Hic rursum: *Quid autem, si ego non permetterem?* Alter: *Invito te pascere. Tunc invito me?* infert ille. *Omnino te invito*, respondit. Dumque sic altercando neuter alteri cedere vult, verso risu

other. And so there is everywhere need for order and the cement of order, love, that no one should in his own interest interfere with the interests of others, and so sin against the laws of eternal order. *In life it behooveth us to behave as at a banquet*, said Epictetus; *if anything shall be brought to thee in thy turn, modestly stretch out thy hand and take it. Hath it not yet reached thee? Stretch not far thine appetite. Will it pass thee by? Detain it not.* A beautiful counsel, even when it is extended to that great banquet which the great God setteth daily before the human generation!

32. If then any wrong hath been done by us in error against the laws of our neighbours' order, it will be necessary to set it right by council, and that quickly, lest by persevering in our error things be brought to the extreme consequences, when there is no place for correction. Many examples shew how quarrels arising from the most trivial causes, when they have not been calmed by reason, have ended most lamentably. I will mention only one terrible case recounted by Zwinger (according to the 3rd book of the History of Padua by Bernardo Scardeoni). *There flourished in Padua the family of the Siminei. Two brothers of this family went out after supper and one, gazing up in the bright night to heaven, said that he would fain have as many cattle as he saw stars to shine.* The other answered jokingly: *But if I had a meadow as great as is the sky, where wouldst thou graze thy cattle?* *In thy meadow*, replied the first. Whereupon the other: *And what if I did not permit it?* The first: *I should graze them against thy will.* *Against my will?* exclaimed the other. *Certainly, against thy will*, was the answer. And when thus in their dispute one would not give way to the other,

in iram et ira in rixam, rixa vero in furorem, evaginated utrinque gladiis (quibus forte ambo infelicititer accincti erant) ambo sese transfixerunt, sero accurrentibus domesticis, qui eos joco altercantes audiverant, serio autem in suomet sanguine sese volutantes et mox exanimatos restituere vitae non poterant. Hem luctuosum casum; utinam nunquam repetitum! Sed vereor, ne, si quis res mundi accuratius inspiciat, simillima saepe redire conspiciat. Et vereor, ne apud nos quoque fraternarum rixarum similis reperiatur origo, dum alter tantum sibi pingues boves, alter tantum sibi in pingua prata jus optat. Accurrite maturius, amici, antequam risus in luctus abeat remedioque non sit locus.

33. Reditus autem in fraterni amoris viam initium mutua reconciliatio erit; sed quam reconciliatio cum Deo praecedat necesse est. Hunc enim peccatis nostris primo esse laesum et ad castigationes has nobis inferendum patientiae suae irritatione concitatum si quis dubitat, caecum se esse neque christianum ostendit. *Non est abbreviata manus Domini, ut salvare nequeat, neque aggravata ejus auris, ut non exaudiat, clamat propheta; sed iniquitates vestrae disterminant vos et Deum vestrum; et peccata vestra faciunt, ut abscondat faciem suam a vobis. Manus enim vestrae pollutae sunt etc.* (Jes. 59, 1.) Quisquis ergo irreconciliatus Deo reconciliare se quaeret homini, decipiet se ipsum; et quisquis non impetrata interiore pace cum Deo pacem quaeret apud homines, decipiet se ipsum, nullam inventurus pacem; *quia non est pax impiis, dicit Dominus* (Jes. 48, 22). Si autem

the joke turned to anger, anger to a quarrel, the quarrel again to fury, until they finally both drew their swords (which they unfortunately chanced to be carrying), and stabbed one another. The servants, who had before heard them disputing in a joke, ran up too late; and when they found them writhing, beyond all jokes, in their own blood, and shortly afterwards expiring, could not restore them to life. A lamentable happening, this; might it never be repeated. But he who were to look attentively into the things of this earth would find, I fear, that similar occurrences are very often repeated. And I am afraid that in our case too there will be found a similar source of these fraternal quarrels, that one desireth only for himself fat cattle, and the other only for himself the right to a rich meadow. Hasten to help, friends, ere laughter turn to lamentation, and there be no place for correction.

33. The beginning of the return to the path of brotherly affection will be a mutual reconciliation; but it is necessary that this should be preceded by a reconciliation with God. For if anyone doubt that first God was angered by our sins and was aroused by the trying of his patience to lay these punishments upon us, it is apparent that he is blind and no Christian. *The Lord's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save; neither his ear heavy, that it cannot hear, cries the prophet; but your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you (Isaiah 59, 1, 2).* Whoever then shall seek to be reconciled with man, being not reconciled with God, will deceive himself; and whoever shall seek peace with man, not having attained internal peace with God, will deceive himself and find no peace; *for there is no peace, saith the Lord, unto the wicked (Isaiah 48, 22).* And if

invito Deo pacem inter se homines molientur, pacis monstra, ludibria, opprobria, exitia se inventuros experientur. Deus enim iudex est, mundum nisi arbitrio suo administrari non vult, nec irrideri patitur.

34. In specie si quid monendum esset, hoc forte non inutiliter posset, *periculose cum illo bella geri, qui causam suam commendavit Deo, multoque periculosius cum eo, quem Deus in causae suae defensionem excitatum omnipotentis brachii sui scuto protegit.*

35. Scribunt Germaniae historici electorem Saxoniae quondam concepta in archiepiscopum Magdeburgensem ira bellum illi indixisse bellique apparatu occupatum exploratores misisse expiscatum, *quos archiepiscopus belli socios quantumque exercitum esset habiturus.* Qui cum renuntiarent nullum ibi exercitum colligi nec de colligendo alibi audiri, hoc tantum *episcopum dixisse injuste se bello peti, innocentiam suam se commendaturum Deo.* Quo audito princeps *Itane?* dixit. *Alius ergo insaniat, ut cum Deo belligerare velit;* dimissaque sua etiam militia amice cum episcopo transegit. Ad quid vero hoc? Revocat in memoriam mihi (ego vero aliis) historiam hanc visio quaedam viro, quem Dominus futurorum revelatione dignatur (St. M.) sub ipsa belli Anglo-Belgici initia bis (anno 1664, 4. et 5. Julii) exhibita et mox tum typis descripta (numero CXVIII.), ubi haec etiam exstant verba: *Dicite regi Angliae, quam sapienter Hollandi causam contra eum suam agere inchoarunt, consilio inito ad omnipotentis pedes procidendi et spem suam potius in*

however people shall strive to win mutual peace against the will of God, they will find anything but peace: scorn, insults, and destruction. For God is the judge; He desireth not that the world be governed otherwise than according to His will, and suffereth not mockers.

34. But if there be need of a more detailed admonition, it were not perhaps useless to adduce this, *that it is dangerous to wage war with him who hath commended his cause to God, and still more dangerous with him whom God covereth with the shield of his almighty arm, having called him in defence of his cause.*

35. As the German historians write, the Elector of Saxony was once seized with wrath against the Archbishop of Magdeburg and declared war upon him; and, occupied in his preparations for war, sent out spies to ascertain *whom the Archbishop would have as allies and how great an army.* These reported that they had seen no gathering of troops, nor had they heard of any such elsewhere; but only *that the Bishop had said that he was unjustly assailed and would commend his innocence to God.* Which when the Prince heard, he said: *So? Then let another be mad enough to wage war with God;* and dispersing his forces, came to an amicable arrangement with the Bishop. This incident was recalled to me (and by me to others) by a certain vision beheld at the very beginning of the Anglo-Dutch war (on the 4th and 5th of July A. D. 1664) by a man whom God recogniseth as worthy that the future be revealed to him (St. M.), and soon after published in print (under the number CXVIII), where are also these words: *Tell the King of England how wisely the Netherlands began to conduct their quarrel with him by deciding to throw themselves at the feet of the Almighty*

centro illius misericordiae quam in viribus suis collocandi. Ideo, quamvis illi a Deo, tanquam veri Davidis filii, castigabuntur, impune tamen non ferent, qui flagella multiplicant adversus castigatos a Deo etc. Quod quia ita fuisse factum constat (toto nimirum hoc triennalis belli tempore per omnes foederati Belgii provincias publicas solemnes cum jejuniis preces quovis mense indici et hucusque celebrari), utinam serenissimo Angliae regi sapientis illius imperii electoris piam prudentiam imitari det Deus, ut alios insanire sinat belligerando cum illis, qui sibi scutum suum faciunt Deum.

36. Quanto magis, si eos ipsos Deus in causae suae defensionis instrumenta elegit, quemadmodum bona christiani orbis pars integro jam saeculo credidit, quia vidit! *Toto enim illo tempore invicti fuerunt Hollandi, quia Deus cum illis fuit, quamdiu illi cum Deo* (2. Chron. 15, 2). Expertus id ipse magnus monarcha, bellis annorum septuaginta frustra eos fatigans, se ipsum enervans, nihil inde lucratus, nisi quod eos magis unitos, fortes, potentes invictosque in Deo reddidit coramque orbe universo ab illis pacem petens fateri necesse habuit. Sicut et Angliae regibus *Jacobo et Elizabethae, earundem libertatum et fidei defensoribus*, divino scuto circumdatis, contigit. Et nondum aliquis, alienis damnis cautior factus, resipiscet? Saperet omnino, si quis Achiolem imitatus Holopherni, populum Dei debellare quaerenti, consilium daret inquirendi prius, *an forte illi aliquid enormiter in Deum suum pecca-*

and to establish their hope rather upon the depths of his mercy than their own powers. And so they will indeed be punished like true sons of David, but neither will they go away unpunished who multiply the lashes against those punished by God etc. It is well known that this so happened (that during the whole course of this three years' war solemn general prayers with fasts have been announced every month and are still performed throughout the united Netherlands); and therefore may God let the illustrious King of England imitate the pious prudence of the wise Elector of Saxony, allowing others to be mad enough to wage war upon those who make God their shield.

36. And this all the more, if God hath chosen even the Netherlanders as an instrument for the defence of his cause, as a great part of the Christian world hath for a whole century believed, having been convinced thereof! *For during all this period the Netherlanders have been invincible, inasmuch as the Lord was with them, while they were with him* (2. Chron. 15, 2). This was found by the great ruler himself who for seventy years in vain attempted to exhaust them with wars, and instead exhausted himself, having accomplished nought save rendering them more united, courageous, powerful, and invincible in God, and being obliged to admit this before the whole world, begging them for peace. The same fortune was experienced by the English rulers *James and Elizabeth, protectors of the same freedom and faith*, and protected by the shield of God. And will not someone grow wiser at the sight of other men's harm? Surely it were wise for someone to imitate Achior, and to advise Holofernes, intending to wage war against the people of God, to find out first *whether they had not perhaps committed some great sin*

rint, ut illos Deum patrum suorum deserentes rursusque a Deo desertos jam expugnari posse sperari possit? (Judith, 5. 24.) Si cui Holophernem agere consiliumque salutare non audiendo populum numero exiguum vi obruere tentare allubescit, tentet, experturus aeternae rupis instar perstare illud

fidentes nescit deseruisse Deus.

Turpissimum autem, si id tentent ejusdem olim causae socii, eundem causae suae vindicem experti, Deum. Sed prohibebit eo prolabi aeternum Numen; utque sui se tandem agnoscant et sibi velut *Jehu et Jonadab* (non contra se invicem corrupto privato zelo, sed pro Deo Jehova sancto communi zelo) dexteris jungant (2. Reg. 10, 15, 16).

37. Cavebunt tamen foederati Belgae successibus suis aut patrum suorum effere sese, quia victoriae illorum non illorum fuerunt, sed Agni, a cujus partibus stabant vocati et electi et fideles (*Apoc. 17, 14*). Agni, inquam, *habentis cornua septem* (*Ap. 5, 6*), *vincentis bestiam habentem cornua decem* (*Apoc. 17, 3, 7*).

38. Sed et excutient diligenter conscientiam suam, *an eundem cum patribus suis Deum colant, an eandem Dei causam protegant et an eodem sancto zelo?* Nam si sunt iidem cum patribus suis eademque incedunt via, eundem quoque sibi fore Deum intrepide sperent, quia Deus Deus est, qui non mutatur, *semper idem suis, fidelibus fidelis, sanctis sanctus*. Si secus, trepidandum profecto est, quia

against their God, that it might in this way be possible to hope that they could now be overcome, having abandoned the God of their fathers, and having in their turn been abandoned by him (*Judith* 5, 24). If anyone desire to play the Holofernes, to disregard salutary advice and to attempt to crush by force a people small in numbers, let him but attempt it, and he will find the old truth:

God could not desert the faithful

standing like an eternal rock. But the most shameful were if this were to be attempted by quondam allies in the same cause, who had known the same protector of that cause, God. However, the eternal power of God will not permit them to sink so low, but will bring it about that they at last recognise their own, and offer their hand, like *Jebu* to *Jehonadab*, not with a wrong and selfish zeal one against the other, but with a holy and common zeal for the Lord (*2. Kings* 10, 15, 16).

37. But the united Netherlands will however take care not to be swelled up with their successes, or the successes of their fathers; for the victories were not theirs, but of the Lamb, at whose side stood the called, the chosen, the faithful (*Rev.* 17, 14). Of the Lamb, I say, *having seven horns* (*Rev.* 5, 6), *which shall overcome the beast having ten horns* (*Rev.* 17, 3, 7).

38. But they will also carefully examine their conscience, *whether they are honouring the same God as their fathers, whether they are supporting the same divine cause and with the same holy zeal*. For if they are the same as their fathers and if they walk in the same path, they may hope with confidence that God will be the same towards them; for God is a God who changeth not, *faithful towards the faithful, holy towards the holy*. If this be not so, they

perversi perversum experiuntur (Psal. 18, 27). *Cum enim recesserit justus a justitia sua feceritque iniquitates, morietur* (Ez. 33, 18). *Etiā dilecti Dei Davidis dilectissimus filius* (mortalium licet sapientissimus, fortissimus ipsiusque aeterni regis, Messiae, prototypon et exemplar), *si non agnoscit Deum patris sui, si ei non servit corde perfecto, si eum non quaerit perpetuo, sed eum derelinquit, rejicitur in aeternum* (1. Chron. 28, 9). Additur tamen ibi: *Sed quia elegit te Dominus ad aedificandum domum sanctuarii, confortare et perfice!* (v. 10.) Quod idem solatio sibi audire poterunt foederati Belgae, si a patribus inchoatum opus (*conscientiarum carceres dirumpendi*) perficere non cessabunt, aut si quid cessatum est, emendabunt. Juverunt patrum vestrorum victorias promovere ejusdem fidei et passionum Christi alibi terrarum consortes (si non consiliis et viribus omnes, votis tamen et ad Deum suspiriis ad imitationem Mosis, *Exod.* 12, 11); etiamne Vos nunc in Babylonica fornace sudantibus succursum itis? Etiamne cognitionem Dei patrum Vestrorum ad gentes miseras, creatoris sui ignaras, fervide promotum itis? Errata hic apud Japonenses Vestra si posteris narrabunt historici, eritne cum laude Vestra conjunctum? Aut Deus eos, qui se deserunt, non deserere tamen tenebitur? Pavescendum est et in sanctorum majorum sancti zeli vias redeundum. Absque hoc sit, frustra erit unitis adhuc consiliis unitisque viribus, propriis vel alienis, confidere; difflabit omnia spiritui suo adversa flatu suo Dominus. E contra vero,

have indeed reason for fear, because *the changed know the changed* (Psalm 18, 27). For when the righteous turneth from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, he shall even die thereby (Ez. 33, 18). For even the dearest son of David, the favourite of God (although the wisest and most courageous of men, the prototype and example of the eternal king himself, the Messiah), is cast off for ever, if he know not the God of his father, serve him not with a perfect heart, seek him not continually, but forsake him (1. Chron. 28, 9). But this is there added: *The Lord hath chosen thee to build an house for the sanctuary: be strong, and do it* (v. 10.)! The united Netherlands will be able to hear the same to their joy, if they cease not to complete the work begun by their fathers (*the destruction of the prisons of conscience*), or if they put right anything which was left incorrect. Much was contributed to the victories of your fathers by companions of the same faith and sufferings of Christ in other lands (if not all by advice and deeds, then at least by prayers and sighs to God, after the fashion of Moses, *Exod.* 12, 11); will ye now go to assist those who are suffering in the furnaces of Babylon? Will ye fervently spread knowledge of the God of your fathers to unhappy peoples which know not their Creator? If the historians relate to posterity the errors ye have committed in this respect amid the Japanese, will this be joined with your praise? Or will God nevertheless be bound not to abandon those who cast him off? There is reason for fear, and it is necessary to return to the paths of holy zeal that your pious ancestors trod. If this come not about, it will be in vain to depend upon efforts so far united and your own or foreign united aims; the Lord will cast down with his

si viae hominis placebunt Domino, inimicos etiam ejus convertet ad pacem (Prov. 16, 7).

39. *Pacem tamen quaerite ipsi etiam Vos ante longius progressa iram et damna; nec eam propter futurae adhuc victoriae spem differte, memores aleam belli nimis variabilem, Deum vero semper esse fastus osorem et ultorem. Quod utraque pars sibi audiat, ne ullas tolerabiles condiciones repudiando majoribus se difficultatibus implicet. Non enim exempla sero desideratae pacis, rejectae prius, desunt. Trojani decimo demum anno, post tot acceptas clades, de restituenda Helena consultare coeperunt; quam si statim initio reposcenti Menelao reddidissent, innumerabilibus sese calamitatibus subduxissent. Reddite igitur Helenas Vestras, o Angli et Belgae (de quarum raptu pars utraque conqueritur), mature vobis, ulteriores ut effugiatis calamitates. Praesertim cum non sola Vestra fortuna aut infortunium in hoc cardine vertitur, sed multorum. Etiam hoc respectu, ut reconciliatio Vestra occasioni serviat reconciliandi sese aliis quoque christianis populis, ut ne tam funestae bellorum flammae sine fine christianum depopulentur orbem.*

40. *Animorum generositas in utraque gente fecit, ut nihil servile ferre volentes suae populiue sui libertati tutandae pectora pectoribus opposueritis fortiter; at major generositas erit non permittere, ut generositas in servilia degeneret vitia, ambitionem, vindictae cupiditatem desperatamque obstinationem. Frangit DEUS omne superbum. Sit finis altercationum de maris dominio; quod nulli creato convenire, utpote solius Dei regale, jam ante dictum est.*

breath all that displeaseth his spirit. But on the other hand, *when a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him* (Prov. 16, 7).

39. *But ye too must seek peace, before wrath and harm proceed further;* and do not delay from hope of a victory which may be in the future, but bear in mind that the fortune of war is too fickle, and that God ever hateth and punisheth pride. Let one side and the other take this to heart, that it refuse no bearable terms, and thus avoid greater difficulties, for there is no lack of examples of a yearning that came too late for a peace once refused. Only after ten years of suffering did the Trojans begin to take counsel concerning the return of Helen; had they done so at the very beginning at the request of Menelaos, they had avoided countless evils. Return then in time your Helens, men of England and Holland (of the rape of which both sides complain), that ye may avoid more extensive evils! Especially as this is the point upon which revolveth not only your own fortune or ill-fortune, but that of many others besides. And see too *that your reconciliation may give other Christian peoples occasion for peace*, that in this way the disastrous flames of war may not for ever lay waste the Christian world.

40. *The magnanimity of both nations hath caused you, not desiring to suffer anything servile, courageously to place forehead against forehead in defence of your freedom and that of your people.* But it will be a greater magnanimity not to permit magnanimity to degenerate into servile faults, into *ambition, desire for revenge, and a desperate obstinacy*. GOD *crusheth the proud*. Let there be an end to disputes concerning the dominion of the sea; it hath already been said that this dominion pertaineth to no

Vestrum tamen aliqui adulatorum admissis vocibus (sicut incautus olim Herodes, *Act.* 12, 22) *Neptunos et Aeolos* appellari Vos sustinuistis; quid ergo mirum, si Deus suis emissis Aeolis classes vestras dissipari superbaque navium Vestrarum corpora, ut superbum Herodis corpus, vermibus corredi fecit? *Desistendum prorsus a dominio maris affectando. Quin et forsán de praedominio lis injusta fuerit;* quia communis omnium creator commune omnibus jus maris dedit, *dominamini piscibus maris* (*Gen.* 1, 28) dicendo; nunquam autem privatim alicui *dominare mari* dixit. Permisit quidem Salomoni (qui in sanctuarii structuram omnes auri et argenti sui thesauros exhauserat) classem in mare Indicum mittere magnamque auri vim ex Ophir afferre (*2. Reg.* 9, 26), abnepoti tamen ejus, Josaphati, ob foedera cum impiis id non permisit. (*2. Chron.* 20, 37.)

41. *Ubi occasio datur pulcherrimum quiddam Anglos et Belgas* (sicut et alias christianas oceani navigatrices gentes) *monendi et orandi, nempe ut de solemnissimo quodam vaticinio implendo sanctas suscipere incipiant cogitationes.* Quonam illo? Quod apud Jesaiam exstat capite 23. *Ubi postquam Deus Tyri* (celeberrimi tunc orbis emporii, *cujus mercatores erant principes et negotiatores honoratissimi terrae, v. 8., fornicantes cum universis regnis terrae, v. 17)* peccata et propter peccata poenas denun-tiasset, magnum tandem quiddam his verbis promittit:

creature, being the inalienable right of God himself. But in spite of this some of you, having lent an ear to flatterers (like the uncautious Herod of old, *Acts*. 12, 22), have permitted yourselves to be termed *Neptunes* and *Aeoluses*. What wonder is it then that God, sending forth his *Aeoluses*, hath dispersed your fleets and cast the proud hulks of your ships, like the proud body of Herod, to the worms? *It is necessary in the extreme to cease from struggling for the dominion of the sea. Yea, and even a dispute concerning privileges were perhaps unjust*; for the common creator of all things gave them a common right to the sea, saying: *Have dominion over the fish of the sea* (*Gen.* 1, 28); but never said to anyone in particular: Thou shalt have dominion over the sea. It is true that he permitted Solomon (who had exhausted all his treasures of gold and silver in the building of the temple) to send a navy to the Indian Ocean, and to fetch a great treasure of gold from Ophir (*1. Kings* 9, 26); but to his great-grandson Jehosaphat he did not permit this because of covenants with the unbelievers (*2. Chron.* 20, 37).

41. *And here there ariseth occasion to recall and preach to the English and Netherlanders (as well as to other Christian seafaring nations) something very beautiful: that they should begin to take into consideration the fulfilment of a certain very solemn prophecy. And which? That which is to be found in chapter 23 of Isaiah. There God first enumerateth the sins and punishments for the sins of Tyre (therefore of the most famous market of the earth, whose merchants were princes and whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth, v. 8, and which committed fornication with all the kingdoms of the world, verse 17), and then maketh a great promise in these words: And*

Et erunt negotiationes ejus et merces ejus sanctificatae Domino. Non condentur neque reponentur in thesaurum; sed pro his, qui habitant coram Domino, erit negotiatio ejus, ut manducent in saturitatem et vestiantur usque ad venustatem (v. 18). Quid autem hoc sibi vult? Responsum: Omne primum in suo genere dat caeteris mensuram et denominationem (Cain homicidis, Abel martyribus, Babylon superbiae, Sodoma impuritati, Aegyptus tyrannidi, Jerusalem ecclesiae etc.). Ergo et Tyrus, primum orbis emporium celebre, omnium sequentium typus et figura fuit. Ergo quidquid hic de Tyro dicitur, tibi, Amsterodamum, tibi, Londinium, tibi, Ulyssipona, tibi, Venetiae, etc. etc. dicitur. Vobis venturum tempus, ut Vestrae cum universis regnis terrae scortationes sanctificentur Domino, hoc est, meretricia avaritiae aucupia et artes in pietatis usum divinique cultus quaquaversus dilatandi occasiones transeant. Non ut privati quidam inde posthac privatum in usum thesauros coacervent, sed ut omnes, qui habitant coram Domino (in universa jam Deo sanctificata terra), edant, bibant, vestiantur laetique Deum universae terrae laudent. Beatum saeculum, si quando id videre dabitur! Promittit autem verax ille, qui potens est et sanctum nomen ejus (Luc. 1, 49).

42. *Dignissimum autem contemplatu est, an et quomodo id fieri possit? In genere quidem ita, ut quisquis mercatoriae vitae se tradit, commercium sibi cum Deo faciat primum et summum, tum sortem tum lucra cum illo habiturus communia, et quidquid ex honesta negotiatione sua proventuum (ejus benedictione) obtingit, totum id rursum cum Deo dividens. Quomodo autem? Ita ut David, dicens: Deus meus es tu, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges*

her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the Lord: it shall not be treasured nor laid up; for her merchandise shall be for them that dwell before the Lord, to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing (v. 18). What doth this signify? I answer: *All that is the first of its kind giveth to the rest a measure and a name* (Cain to murderers, Abel to martyrs, Babylon to pride, Sodom to impurity, Egypt to tyranny, Jerusalem to the Church, and so on). So too was Tyre, the first famous market of the world, the prototype of all those to come. And therefore *all that is said here of Tyre is addressed to you Amsterdam, London, Lisbon, Venice, and so on. The time will come when your fornication with all the kingdoms of the world will fall to the lot of the Lord; that is to say, when your lewd wiles, deceit and avarice will pass to the uses of piety and give occasion to extend the glory of God in all parts. Not that any individuals should gather together a treasure for their own profit, but that all who dwell before the Lord (in the whole world now consecrated to God) should eat, drink, clothe themselves, and gladly praise the God of the whole world. Happy age, if it ever be seen! And it is promised by that truth-speaker who is mighty, and holy is his name (Luke 1, 49).*

42. *But it is in truth worthy of consideration, whether and in what manner this may be realised.* It is generally accepted that whosoever devoteth himself to a life of commerce maketh his compact with God the first and highest; that he have both his fate and his gain in common with God, and whatever sum he may (with God's blessing) gain from his honest commerce, this he will again share with God. But in what manner? Like David, saying *Thou art my Lord: my goodness extendeth*

in sanctis, qui in terra sunt, oblectatio mea (Ps. 16, 2, 3).
Cujus rei duplex iterum modus est, uterque sanctus.

43. Prior in eo est: ut, quanto quis plus proventuum e negotiationibus suis colligit, tanto plus in pauperes, orphanos, advenas, ptochodochea, scholas, templa aliosque pios usus eroget, posthabita thesauros collectandi aut rursum in vana mundi et vitae superflua expendendi cura. Tunc enim verum erit, quod Salomo dicit: *Faeneratur Domino, qui miseretur pauperis, ipse Dominus reddet ei* (Prov. 19, 17). Et quod David: *Beatus, qui gratiose largitur et mutuo dat et omnia disponit cum iudicio* (Ps. 112, 5, 9). Et quod Christus ipse: *Habenti* (id est liberaliter habenti) *dabitur; non habenti autem etiam, quod habere se putat* (tenaciter tenendo), *auferetur*, Luc. 8, v. 18. Tunc enim bene est corpori vivo, cum ventriculus alimenta recepta pro toto corpore coquit et distribuit; tunc etiam ecclesiae bene est, credentesque unum cor et anima una fiunt, cum nemo quidquam eorum, quae dono Dei habet, avare possidet proprios tantum in usus, sed tanquam in commune (Act. 4, 32).

44. *Alter negotiationes Domino sanctificandi modus spiritualior est et sublimior: ut a quibus nationibus externa capimus lucra, eos ipsos lucrari quaeramus Domino, pro messe carnali spiritualem faciendo sementem.* Hoc est, ut tot illas incultas, barbaras, Dei creatoris et redemptoris sui ignaras gentes (cum quibus per utramque Indiam

not to Thee; but to the saints that are in the earth, and to the excellent, in whom is all my delight (Psalm 16, 2, 3). And of doing this there are two means, both holy.

43. The first consisteth in this, that the more gain one amasseth from his commerce, the more he expendeth upon the poor, orphans, wayfarers, almshouses, schools, temples, and other pious ends, leaving aside care as to the amassing of treasure or again as to its expenditure upon worldly vanities and the superfluities of life. For thus are fulfilled the words of Solomon: *He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord; and that which he hath given will he pay him again (Prov. 19, 17).* And those of David: *A good man sheweth favour, and lendeth: he will guide his affairs with discretion (Psalm 112, 5).* And of Christ Himself: *Whosoever hath (that is, hath with generosity), to him shall be given; and whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have (that is, jealously gardeth), Luke 9, 18.* For it is good for a living body when the stomach digests and divides the food taken for the whole body; and so it is good for the Church, and then do the multitude of them that believe become of one heart and of one soul, when no one saith that ought of the things which he possesseth are his own, but hath all things common (*Acts 4, 32*).

44. *The other way of consecrating commerce to God is more spiritual and exalted: those peoples from which we obtain worldly goods we should seek to win over for the Lord, giving in return for a material harvest spiritual seed; that is to say, we should endeavour to bring the many uneducated, barbarian peoples, ignorant of God, their Creator and Redemptor (with which we trade in*

aliosque vastos terrae tractus et insulas commercia exercemus) ad religionem veram morumque ac litterarum culturam traducere et sic per totam terram numerum eorum, qui salvi fiant, augere laboremus. Quod ante aliquot annos feliciter Angli in Anglia nova inchoarunt, negligentius alii hucusque attenderunt. Emendandum itaque, et ut omnes christianorum negotiationes per universam terram Deo sanctificentur, opera danda.

45. *Quo si collimandum est, pacem inter nos in Europa primum constitui stabilisque necesse est, ut ne constanter discordes domi constanter discordias nostras propagemus foras, ibi etiam (in conspectu infidelium) sive de externis illorum bonis sive de ipsa religione nostra rixando. Aut certe ad minimum, si ad eandem fidei christianae formam non redacti fidem per gentes propagare quaeremus tradetque suam quisque, erit Babylon illa nostra, quam domi curare negligimus, quanto diffusior, tanto confusior. Sed spes est in misericordia Dei Babyloniarum confusionum aut jam adesse aut mox affuturum finem, inter nos christianos primum et mox in orbe toto. Cujus spei fundamentum, rupis instar immotum, habemus tum in solemnissimis divinis, antiquis et novis, promissionibus, a Christianis hucusque negligentius, quam decebat, observatis, tum in exoriente jamjam illius ultimae magnae lucis mundi (de qua apud prophetam VESPERI ERIT LUX, Zach. 14, 7) aurora, duplici pro una.*

46. *Primum enim nobis Christianis jamjam pleniore fulgore spectandum se proferet evangelii sol quam hactenus;*

the two Indies and in other vast expanses and islands) to the true faith, to education in morals and sciences, and so increase over the whole world the number of those who are to be saved. This the English happily began a few years ago in New England, but the others have to this day paid much less attention to the matter. There is hence need for correction and zeal, that all Christian trading throughout the world may be consecrated to God.

45. *If our aim is to be such, peace must first of all be concluded and assured between us in Europe, lest in continual discord at home we should continually spread our quarrels abroad,* there (before the eyes of the unbelievers) quarrelling over their temporal goods or even our religion. For otherwise assuredly, if we seek to spread the faith among the pagans, not being ourselves united in the same form of the Christian faith, and each preaching his own, then this Babylon of ours, the correction of which we neglect at home, will at least be the more confused the greater its extent. But there is hope, if God grant, that the end of this Babylonian confusion already approacheth or will soon come, first among us Christians and soon throughout the entire world. The foundation of this faith, immovable as a rock, we have firstly in the most solemn of the divine promises new and old, to which Christians have hitherto paid less attention than were fitting. And secondly in the *rising morning star*, double instead of single, of *that last great light of the world* (of which it is written in the prophet: AT EVEN TIME IT SHALL BE LIGHT, Zech. 14, 7).

46. *First of all, that is to say, the sun of the gospel will shew itself to us Christians, that we may behold it in a*

quia variis humanarum opinionum nebulis ita obtectus fuit, ut in medio christianismi necessum esset clamare: *Venit mane, et ecce nox!* (Jes. 21, 12.) Claram enim christianismi veritatem et lucem usque adeo caliginibus obnubilatam habuit mundus, ut, quid sit *Christus*, quid homo *christianus*, quid *christianismus* verus, omnibus propemodum christianis ignotum esset. Hinc de omnibus fidei christianae articulis tantae inter christianos dissensiones, quantas alibi nusquam videre est. Ex dissensionibus autem nascuntur sectae, e sectis animorum aversiones, ex aversionibus odia, ex odiis pugnae violentaeque persecutiones atrocissimae, ut spectantibus nos Judaeis, Turcis aliisque infidelibus furiis agitari videmur. Accedit *irreconciliabilitas*, quam sibi invicem tanquam aeternas inimicitias denuntiant, reditum ad unitatem atrociter ejurantes. Hinc Anglia *Romam irreconciliabilem*, Germania *Calvinismum irreconciliabilem*, alii alia *irremediabilitatis* scuta procuderunt et sic *Christus, per quem Patri omnia reconciliare et per sanguinem crucis ejus pacificare placuit* (Colos. 1, 20), ab ipsismet christianis suis cum pacificatione sua conspuitur.

47. *Sed qui tamen stultitiae nostrae tandem misertus deliriis remedia parat, infinitarum opinationum fumis dispellendis lucem veram inextricabilibusque labyrinthorum nostrorum tricis exitum verum, Sionis viam sanctam, tam directam, ut ne stulti quidem deerrare possint* (Jes. 35, 8). Ecquid hoc erit? Ipsissimus ille, qui dixit: *Ego sum VIA, VERITAS ET VITA* (Job. 14, 6). Item: *Ego sum LUX*

fuller light than before; for by the manifold mists of human opinion it was so covered, that amid Christendom it was necessary to cry: *The morning cometh, and also the night* (Isaiah 21, 12). For the clear truth and the light of Christianity was so obscured to the world by darkness that nearly all Christians were ignorant what *Christ*, a *Christian*, and true *Christianity* were. Hence arose among Christians such great differences over all the articles of the Christian faith as were never elsewhere to be seen. And from differences are then born sects, and from sects estrangement, from estrangement hatred, and from hatred wars, and cruel and stubborn persecutions, so that to Jews, Turks, and other infidels, if they observe us, we must appear as though driven by furies. To this is added the *irreconcilability* which we profess one to another like an eternal enmity, stubbornly refusing a return to unity. Hence England *irreconcilable* Rome, Germany *irreconcilable* Calvinism, and others have placed other shields of *irreconcilability* one against the other. And so on Christ, through Whom all was to be reconciled with the Father, having made peace through the blood of His cross (Colos. 1, 20), on Him and His conciliation Christians themselves spit.

47. But in spite of this He hath finally taken mercy upon our folly and is preparing a remedy against madness, a new light for the banishment of the endless mists of opinion, and a true escape from the inextricable mazes of our labyrinths, *the holy way of Zion, so straight that even fools shall not be able to err therein* (Isaiah 35, 8). But what will be this way? Just that one which said: *I am the WAY, the TRUTH, and the LIFE* (John 14, 6); and also: *I am the LIGHT OF THE WORLD: he that followeth*

MUNDI; *qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris* (Job. 8, 12). Quam lucem ut omnes, qui Christo nomen dederunt et dabunt, clarius videre ductuque illius ab omnibus diverticulis in viam, ab omnibus erroribus in veritatem, ab omnibus mortis praecipitiis in rupem vitae felicius redire queant, paratur (jussu miserantis nos Dei) infallibile directorium sub titulo tali:

CHRISTIANISMUS RECONCILIABILIS

RECONCILIATORE CHRISTO,

hoc est demonstratio aperta populum nomen Christi professum, per quascunque gentes et linguas factionesque et sectas divisum, ita sibi uniri posse, ut sub pastore uno unum ovile et sub rege uno unum regnum facti omnes concorditer vivant, illiusque rei tempus jam adesse etc. Quam demonstrationem fore confidimus tam patentem et in Deo potentem, ut nemini christianorum (modo christianus sit, apud Christum nihil praeter Christum, hoc est viam, veritatem et vitam, quaerens) assensum abjungere libeat. Corde potius toto exultans quisque cum Davide dicat: *Quam bonum et quam jucundum est fratres habitare in unum!* Et cum Salomone: *Trabe me post te! In odorem unguentorum tuorum curremus.* Christo hic tam placide controversias omnes complanante, qualiter ipsi nos nullis academicis disputationibus aut polemicis scriptis aliisve humanis

he shall not walk in darkness (John 8, 12). That all who have professed Christ and shall so do may see that light more clearly and under its guidance may more happily return from all wanderings to the path, from all errors to truth, and from all deadly precipices to the rock of life, there is being prepared (at the command of God, our commiserator) an infallible indicator with this title:

CHRISTENDOM
RECONCILABLE THROUGH
CHRIST THE CONCILIATOR,

that is, *an evident proof that the people who profess Christ, no matter into what nations, tongues, factions, and sects they be divided, may yet become so united to one another as to form one fold under one shepherd, one kingdom under one king, and all live together in concord; that the time for this hath already come, and so on.* We hope that this proof will be so clear, and so powerful in God, that no Christian (if he only be a true Christian, seeking nought in Christ save Christ, that is, the way, the truth, and the life) will wish to refuse his assent. But rather each rejoicing with his whole heart, let him say with David: *How good and how joyful it is when brothers dwell in concord!* And with Solomon: *Draw me after thee! We will hasten into the perfumes of thine unguents.* And Christ will settle all our disputes infinitely more peacefully than we have ever been able by academic discussions, polemical writings, and other human ways and means; for hitherto there has been no time to pro-

consiliis vel conciliis potuimus, quia universalis effundendae misericordiae aperiendarumque pro omnibus terrae nationibus ecclesiae portarum tempus nondum adfuit, jam autem (gratia Dei) propinquat.

48. Verum enimvero, quia nos christianus orbis, Europa, non totum absolvimus humanum genus, sed praeter nos centeni alii per totam terrae faciem sparsi populi sunt, *parumque est Christum quorundam tantum servatorem esse, sed ut fiat lux omnium gentium et salus Dei usque ad extremum terrae* (Jes. 49, 6), *cogitandum omnino est, quomodo nos christiani pace inter nos constituta lucem, pacem, salutem toti reliquo orbi, omnibus sub caelo nationibus offeramus.* Cui sanctissimae intentioni adoranda sapientia Dei novum quoque parat auxilium sub titulo tali:

De omnimoda RERUM HUMANARUM EMENDATIONE CONSULTATIO generis humani secum ipso, sive: Quomodo exitiales ubique rerum confusiones tandem aliquando penitus agnosci penitusque fastidiri et penitus tolli eoque res mundi in tranquillum et amoenum statum reduci possint, rationabilis investigatio opeque Dei evestigatio.

Quod opus si, ut conceptum est, absolvere dederit Dominus, sperari poterit, quod sperare fortassis nemini adhuc facile venit in mentem (optabat tamen Salomon, *ut Deus daret sapientiam et mitteret Spiritum suum sanctum de altissimis, ut CORRECTAE essent SEMITAE habitantium in terra hominesque sanarentur per sapientiam; Sap. 9, 17, 18, 19*). Sperari, inquam, poterit in toto humano genere tandem aliquando eundem fore de rebus

claim universal forgiveness and to open the gates of the Church for all the peoples of the earth; but now (by the grace of God) that time approacheth.

48. But because we, the Christian world, Europe, do not comprise the whole human race, there being besides us hundreds of peoples scattered over the face of the earth, *and because it is not sufficient that Christ be the Saviour only of a few, but necessary that He become a light to all nations and divine salvation unto the end of the earth* (Isaiah 49, 6), *it is assuredly necessary to consider in what manner we Christians, by concluding peace among us, might bring light, peace, and salvation to the whole remaining world and all the peoples under the sun.* To this holy end the ineffable wisdom of God is also preparing a new help with this title: CONSULTATION of the human generation with itself on the CORRECTION by all possible means of HUMAN AFFAIRS; or, a rational investigation and, by the grace of God, decision as to the manner in which the destructive confusion that everywhere reigneth may finally be once and for all recognised from the root, abhorred from the root, and torn up by the root, and how in this way the affairs of the world may be brought to a calm and pleasant condition.

If God grant that this work be terminated as it is planned, it will be possible to hope in that in which no man hath perhaps easily thought to believe before, (for did not Solomon desire that God should give wisdom and send down his holy spirit from on high, that the PATHS of those that dwell on earth might be CORRECTED and people might be saved by wisdom; *Wisdom* 9, 17, 18, 19). It will be possible, I say, to hope that in the entire human generation there will finally be one voice on all

sensum et voluntatum consensum studiorumque pro communi felicitate concentum, dum ex communi humanae naturae principio, *mentium luce*, omnes homines vera intelligere, omnes bona eligere, omnes electa semel ita sequi, ut assequantur, tam evidenti ratiocinatione docebuntur, ut dissentire nemini facile libeat, nec etiam (propter concatenatas aeternis nexibus veritates) possibile sit.

49. Binum hoc opus (*Christianismum reconciliabilem reconciliatore Christo et Humani generis de amovendis tenebris consultationem duce sola mentium luce*) duplicem novae magnae lucis *auroram* appellavi. Sed accedit tertia intervenientis nostrae caligini et nobis interloquentis litigiisque nostris sese interponentis DEI VOX, per novas aevo nostro factas *revelationes*, quid jam sub mundi finem ab omnibus mundi nationibus fieri velit, Deus peremptorie denuntians. *Volumen propheticum dico trium*, anno 1657 sub titulo LUX IN TENEBRIS, anno vero 1660 sub titulo *Revelationum divinarum in usum saeculi nostri factarum* EPITOME publicatum, demum autem pleniore titulo prodiens:

LUX E TENEBRIS

NOVIS RADIIS AUCTA,

hoc est

SOLEMNISSIMAE DIVINAE

REVELATIONES

IN USUM SAECULI NOSTRI FACTAE.

Quibus

matters, that there will be agreement in desires, and that there will be accord in efforts made for the common weal. If only all men will learn to grasp the truth through the common foundation of human nature, that is, *the light of reason*, all choose good, and follow what they have once chosen in such a manner that they may also attain it; and this on the basis of such self-evident judgments, that no one would permit himself easily to resist, nor could do so (in view of truths linked together in eternal chains).

49. This double work (*Christendom Reconcilable through Christ the Conciliator*, and *the Consultation of the Human Generation on the Banishment of Darkness under the Sole Guidance of the Light of Reason*) I have called the double *morning star* of a new great light. But there is added to this a third VOICE OF GOD, coming amid our darkness, examining us, intervening in our disputes; a voice which through new prophecies made to our age irrevocably proclaimeth what God at the very end of the world requireth from all peoples. *By this I mean the triple volume of prophecies*, published in 1657 under the title »LIGHT IN DARKNESS«, in 1660 bearing the title »Selection of Divine Prophecies made for the Use of our Century«, and finally appearing with the wider title:

L I G H T I N D A R K N E S S

INCREASED BY NEW RAYS,

that is,

S O L E M N P R O P H E C I E S O F G O D

Made for

THE USE OF OUR CENTURY,

in which:

- I. de populi christiani extrema corruptione lamentabiles querelae instituuntur;
- II. impaenitentibusque terribiles Dei plagae nuntiantur;
- III. *et quomodo tandem DEUS (deleta pseudochristianorum, Judaeorum, Turcarum, paganorum et omnium sub caelo gentium Babylone) novam, vere catholicam, donorum Dei luce plene coruscantem ecclesiam constituet, et quis jam status ejus futurus sit ad finem usque saeculi, explicatur.*

Per immissas visiones et angelica divinaque alloquia facta

- I. CHRISTOPHORO KOTTERO Silesio, ab anno 1616 ad 1624;
- II. CHRISTINAE PONIATOVIAE Bohemae, annis 1627, 1628, 1629;
- III. NICOLAO DRABICIO Moravo, ab anno 1638 ad 1666.

50. Quas voces speramus fore partem rugitus angeli illius fortis, quem ad magnam rerum mutationem mundo nuntiandum caelo descendentem vidit Johannes in Apocalypsi, amictum nube et facie fulgentem ut sol, pedes habentem tanquam columnae ignis et in manu libellum apertum, clamantem voce magna, ut cum leo rugit (attestantibus illi septem tonitruis), levantemque manum suam ad caelum et jurantem per viventem in saecula saeculorum, qui creavit caelum et quae in eo sunt et terram cum iis, quae in ea sunt, et mare cum iis, quae in eo sunt, *tempus non fore amplius, sed in diebus vocis septimi angeli, cum coeperit tuba clangere* (sonat autem clangor ille jam diebus nostris) *consummatum iri mysterium Dei, sicut annuntiavit per servos suos prophetas (Ap. 10, v. 1—7).* Qui liber manu ejusdem angeli devorandus datur (tunc

1. Sad laments commence on the most extreme decline of the Christian people.
2. To those who repent not terrible blows of God are announced;
3. And where it is explained *how finally* GOD (after the destruction of the Babylon of Christians, Jews, Turks, Pagans, and all the peoples of the earth) *will establish a new and really universal church, fully radiant with the light of divine gifts, and what its condition will be unto the end of the ages.*

By means of the visions sent down
and communications angelic and divine made to:

- I. CHRISTOPHER KOTTER, Silesian, from 1616 to 1624;
- II. KRISTINA PONIATOVSKA, woman of Bohemia, in 1627,
1628, 1629;
- III. NICHOLAS DRABIK, Moravian, from 1638 to 1666.

50. We hope that these voices will be a part of the crying of that mighty angel which was seen by John in his revelation to come down from heaven to announce to the world a great change: he was clothed with a cloud, and his face was as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire; and he had in his hand a little book open; and cried with a loud voice, as when a lion roareth: and when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices. And he lifted up his hand to heaven, and swore by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that therein are, and the sea, and the things which are therein, *that there should be time no longer: but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound upon his trumpet* (and that clamour already resoundeth in our days), *the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets* (Rev. 10, v. 1—7). That book is given by the hand of the same angel (then to John, now to the Church) to be

Johanni, nunc ecclesiae), *amaritudinem allaturus illis, qui ventrem curant, melleam vero dulcedinem illis, qui os Davidis habent* (v. 9, 10. Ps. 19, 11 et 119, 103) *ad prophetandum denuo gentibus et populis et regibus multis* (v. 11).

51. Ita enim hic etiam omnes Johannes (omnes dico, quibus ultimi saeculi mysteria revelantur) iterum prophetare jubentur gentibus et populis et linguis et regibus. Quidnam? Ubinam? Apud postremum videntem saepius. Ut revel. 55, v. 13: *Scribe et ematura ad evulgandum multa centena exemplaria in omnes orbis partes etc.* Et rev. 92, 8: *Jam tempus est, jam jam hora mea venit, ut non sub modio detineantur, sed in lucem eant revelata tibi a me. Ideo scribite et imprimate quarumvis GENTIUM LINGUIS et dimittite ad nationes terrae. Audite reges, audite dominatores populorum etc.* Et rev. 204, 39: *Vos mihi fideles audacter nuntiate mundo me mutationem induciturum aeterna memoria dignam etc.* Et 211, v. 21: *Volo, ut haec, quae prodierunt ab ore meo, legant et intelligant totius mundi gentes, populi et linguae: Judaei et Graeci, Turcae et Tartari, Arabes et Indi, Germani, Itali, Angli, Galli, Poloni, verbo nulla sit LINGUA sub sole quae nesciat hanc tubam vocationis meae etc.* Iterum revel. 315, 17: *Mittant haec reges regibus, principes principibus, domini dominis, non per christianum tantum orbem, sed et Turcis, Tartaris omnibusque in facie terrae habitantibus etc.* Et revel. 513, 7: *Revertimini ad me, revertimini, o nationes terrae! Hora enim judicii mei dudum annunciati jam*

eaten up, to bring bitterness to those who serve their belly, but the sweetness of honey to those who have David's mouth (v. 9, 10; Psalm 19, 11 and 119, 103), that they may prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and kings (v. 11).

51. For in these prophecies all the Johns (that is to say, all those to whom the secrets of the latter age are revealed) again receive an order to prophesy this to peoples, nations, tongues, and kings. But where and how? In the last prophet in numerous places. Thus in prophecy 55, verse 13: *Write and prepare many hundreds of copies for distribution to all the ends of the earth, etc.* And in prophecy 92,8: *Already it is time, my hour cometh that what I have revealed to thee be not hid beneath a bushel, but come to light. Therefore write that, and print it in the TONGUES of every NATION, and send it out to the peoples of the earth. Hear, O kings, hear, O rulers of nations.* And prophecy 204, 39: *Ye, my faithful, proclaim bravely to the world that I bring a change worthy of eternal remembrance.* And 211, verse 21: *I desire that what hath proceeded from my lips should be read and understood by the peoples, nations, and tongues of the whole world: Jews and Greeks, Turks and Tartars, Arabs and Indians, Germans, Italians, English, French, and Poles; in short let there not be a TONGUE under the sun but know this trumpet of my calling.* Also in prophecy 315, 17: *Let kings send this to kings, princes to princes, rulers to rulers, not only throughout the Christian world, but to the Turks too, the Tartars, and all who dwell on the face of the earth, etc.* And prophecy 513, 7: *Return to me, return, O ye peoples of the earth. For the hour of my judgment, long announced, is already at hand, and even*

in foribus est, licet eam videre sic nemo velit, ut vigilet ad audiendam vocem meam. Vos tamen, testes mei, ne cessate annuntiare illam. Si vos etiam tacebitis, lapides clamabunt ad eos, qui me, unicum animarum suarum pastorem, non sic norunt ut meam patrisque mei voluntatem faciendo salvi fiant. Scribe hos sermones, non tuos, sed meos, qui sum rex regum et dominus dominantium, si forte ad se reversi ultimas irae meae plagas praevenire velint etc.

52. Facimus igitur, quod jussi sumus, hasque regis regum voces tanquam caelestia decreta et edicta ad reges terrae per Vos, eorum legatos, *ea solennitate mittimus, qua Jeremias propheta verba Dei (cum annexis vinculorum et catenarum symbolis) mittere iussus fuit ad regem Edom et ad regem Moab et ad regem filiorum Ammon et ad regem Tyri et ad regem Sidonis per legatos eorum ad communia consilia Jerosolymae congregatos. (Jer. 27, 1 etc.)* Nec dubium est legatos illos voluntati Dei paruisse dominisque suis, quod jussi erant, renuntiasse; ut ex illis prophetae verbis patere potest: *Etiam ad Sedekiam regem Juda locutus sum secundum omnia illa verba (v. 12).*

53. Nemini vestrum veniat in mentem *materiam fore parum gratam, utpote in negotio a theologis fanaticismi damnato, a politicis insaniae nomine sugillari sueto; quemadmodum illi accidit, qui Elisaei prophetae jussu Jehu in regem unctum venerat, 2. Reg. 9, 11.* Ita enim Deo

if no one desire to see it so, let him watch to hear my voice. But ye, my witnesses, cease not to announce it. And if ye are silent, the stones will cry to those that know not me, the only shepherd of their souls, so that they may be saved, working my will and the will of my Father. Write down these words, not thine own, but mine, who am the king of kings and the ruler of rulers, that perchance returning to themselves they might wish to avoid the extremest blows of my wrath etc.

52. We do therefore what hath been commanded us, and send these words of the king of kings, as heavenly decrees and edicts, through you ambassadors to the kings of the earth, and this *with the same solemnity with which the prophet Jeremiah was commanded to send the words of God (with the added symbols of bonds and yokes) to the king of Edom, and to the king of Moab, and to the king of the Ammonites, and to the king of Tyrus, and to the king of Zidon, by the hand of their own messengers, gathered together to take council in Jerusalem (Jer. 27, 1 etc.)* And there is no doubt that those messengers obeyed the will of God and informed their masters of what had been commanded them, as may be gathered from the words of the prophet: *I spake also to Zedekiah king of Judah according to all these words (v. 12).*

53. Let none of you imagine *that this will be an ill-welcomed matter, because it hath been condemned by theologians for fanaticism and is an object for ridicule to politicians like unto madness; the same occurred to him who at the word of the prophet Elisha came to annoint Jehu king, 2. Kings 9, 11. For it is God's fashion to perform his great works through that which is folly in the eyes of the world (1. Cor. 1, 19 etc.)* I will give

moris est, *per ea, quae in oculis mundi stulta sunt, magnalia peragere sua.* (1. Cor. 1. 19 etc.) Exemplum capite! *Quid magis stultum in oculis politicorum videri poterat, quam quod Jeremias fecit?* Formari sibi curaverat aut formavit ipse loramenta quaedam et ligna, juga boum aratro prae-junctorum repraesentantia; quibus collo suo impositis ingressus est ad legatos eisque de suscipiendo regis Baby-loniae jugo concionatus singulis eorum unum tale vincu-lum tradens, ad regem suum ut mitteretur, mandabat. Quis hodiernorum politicorum ineptiam id genus non rideret? Et tamen illos fecisse, quod jussi erant, indubium est. Facite Vos igitur paria, illustrissimi legati, et quod divino mandato regibus vestris offerendum exhibetur, *aut reversi offerte, aut, si per procrastinata legationis negotia nondum reverti licet, mittite, spe acceptiores Vos fore nuntios Vestris. quam illi esse poterant suis.* Quippe non tam dura et dira nuntiare jubemini regibus vestris, ut jubebantur illi, *de submittendis externi alicujus domina-toris jugo collis, sed contraria plane. Nempe ut omnia tyrannica juga a populorum cervicibus penitus demantur penitusque confringantur, in christianitate primum, deinde per universam terram.*

54. Illic enim ita locutus fuit Deus: *Haec dicit Dominus exercituum, dominus Israel. Haec dicetis ad dominos vestros: Ego feci terram et homines et jumenta, quae sunt super faciem terrae, in fortitudine mea magna et in brachio meo extenso: ideo trado terram, cui bene placitum est oculis*

you an example: *What could appear greater folly in the eyes of politicians than that which Jeremiah did?* He had prepared or himself prepared some gear of straps and wood in the likeness of the yokes of oxen harnessed to a plough; which having placed about his neck he appeared before the messengers, spoke to them on the assumption of the yoke of the king of Babylon, gave each of them similar bonds and yokes, instructed them to send them to their king. What politician of to-day would not have mocked at such ineptitude? And in spite of this there is no doubt that they did as they were told. Do ye the same, O illustrious ambassadors. And what is given to you at the command of God, that ye should lay it before your kings, *either return home with it, or at least send it, if ye are unable to return on account of delays in your diplomatic labours. Hope that ye will be more welcome messengers to your rulers than they could be to theirs.* For ye have not to announce to your kings such hard and cruel things as they had — *namely, that they must assume the yoke of a foreign ruler — but things just the opposite: namely, that all bonds and yokes should be taken from the necks of peoples, and broken to pieces, first among Christians, and then throughout the earth.*

54. For then God spake so: *Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel; Thus shall ye say unto your masters; I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power and by my outstretched arm, and have given it unto whom it seemed meet unto me. And now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant; and the beasts of the field have I given him also to serve him. And all nations shall serve him, and his*

meis. Et nunc trado, ecce, omnes terras istas in manum Nabuchodonosor, regis Babylonii, servi mei, ut serviant illi. Et servient ei omnes gentes et filio ejus et filio filii ejus, donec veniat tempus terrae illius. Et servient ei gentes multae et reges magni. Gens autem et regnum, quod non servierit regi Babylonis et non submittet collum jugo ejus, visitabo in gladio et in fame et in peste, donec eos consumam in manu ejus (Jer. 27, v. 4—8). Quam dura haec et tristia tunc! Nunc autem quid? Laeta prorsus: Venisse tempus, quo Deus antiqua promissa impleturus conteret jugum Babylonis de collo populi sui dirumpetque vincula tyrannorum, ut net amplius dominantur alieni populo Dei, sed serviant domino Deo suo et Davidi, regi suo (Christo, Jer. 30, 8). Similiaque per alios prophetas pollicitus per hos novos regibus et populis jam nuntiari mandat Babylonis novi testamenti adesse finem, iniquae nimirum ecclesiasticorum super potestatem politicam ipsaque regum sceptrum dominationis. Ita namque hic loquitur: Vobis ego mandavi, reges et principes, ut Vos, Vos praesideatis; nam et nomen a me habetis, non ab angelo vel alia creatura (Drab. revel. 247, 13. Item rev. 255, v. 13). Revertimini reges terrae ad sceptrum vestrum, ut regnetis sine dominatu super vos superbae illius spiritualis potestatis, non spiritualiter, sed mundane vobis, legitime a me constitutis potestatibus, dominantis et vos depraedantis. Isti enim spirituales detrahebant capiti vestro honorem, quem ego illis nunquam dedi nec ipse in terra existens unquam usurpavi, tametsi omnem caelo et terra potestatem a patre mihi traditam habui etc. et id genus

son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land come: and then many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him. And it shall come to pass, that the nation and kingdom which will not serve the same Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, and will not put their neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon, that nation will I punish, with the sword, and with the famine, and with the pestilence, until I have consumed them by his hand (Jer. 27, v. 4—8). What cruel and doleful tidings then! And what now? Gladsome throughout: *That the day bath come when the Lord, that he may fulfil his old promises, will break the Babylonian yoke from off the neck of his people, and will break the bonds of tyrants, that strangers shall no more rule God's people, but that these shall serve the Lord their God, and David their king (that is, Christ, Jer. 30, 8).* Having promised like things through other prophets, he commands us through these new prophets to announce to kings and peoples *that the end is at hand of the New Testament Babylon, that is, the end of the unjust rule of ecclesiastics over temporal powers and over the very sceptres of kings.* For thus he here speaketh: *I have set you, kings and princes, to stand at the head; for even your name ye have from me, not from angels or any other creatures (Drabik's prophecies 247, 13. Similarly prophecy 255, 13).* Return, O kings of the earth, to your sceptres, *that you may rule without arrogant ecclesiastical might above you, which not spiritually but temporally ruleth you, who are powers lawfully established by me, and robbeth you; for these ecclesiastics have robbed your head of an honour which I never gave them and which I never took for myself when I dwelled upon earth, although I had all power on earth and in heaven entrusted me by my father, etc., etc.*

alia. Quae Vos regibus Vestris nuntiare cur trepidetis, o legati? *Voluntatem supremæ caelestis majestatis esse, ut summae sub caelo majestatis jura reddantur regibus? Illi ut divina auctoritate armati humanae fictae auctoritatis compedibus sese eximant Deique loco (cujus in terris regni ministri sunt, Sap. 6, 5) confusionibus cunctis in ordinem redactis christianitatem totam ad christianismi veri leges redire faciant, ut sibi et filiis suis filiisque filiorum suorum bene sit etc.*

55. *Sumite Vobis tantillum temporis, domini legati, ut haec inspiciatis primum ipsi, et qualia sint, quae nomine Dei deorum offerantur, vel ex titulis et praeliminaribus informationibus cognoscatis, melius ita, quid facto opus sit, intellecturi.* Ni facitis proprioque aut alieno praejudicio abrepti haec in contemptus flammam abjicitis, videte, ne Vobis et regibus Vestris tam male consultum eat, ut Joakim, rex Judae, volumen Jeremiae scalpello scindens et in ignem projiciens (Jer. 23, 23) sibi que per id et populo majorem iram et plagas attrahens (v. 29, 30, 31).

56. Si quis Vestrum dicat: *Cur priora illa scripta, rerum prolapsarum remedia* (nempe Christianorum reconciliationem universalemque gentium illuminationem) *promittentia, non prius sub censuram dantur, sed suspectiora haec, de quorum veritate non aequè judicare promptum est, ut de illis?*, respondeo: Voluimus, sed non licuit, opus suum citius absolvente Deo quam hominibus. Tum quia cogitata nostra (tametsi in libris Dei, naturae et scrip-

Why should ye fear, O ambassadors, to announce this to your kings? *That it is the will of the supreme majesty of heaven that the rights of supreme majesty on earth should be entrusted to kings? That they, armed with the consent of God, should take from their necks the yokes of human and worldly power and in God's place (of whose kingdom they are the servants on earth, Wisdom, 6, 5) set all confusion in order and lead the whole of Christendom to the laws of true Christianity. So that they will be well, their sons, and their son's sons.*

55. *Just take a little time, illustrious ambassadors, to look through these books yourselves, and, at least from the headings and the preliminary notes, to become acquainted with that which is offered in the name of the God of gods. So will ye better grasp what is necessary. If ye do this not, and if, held back by your own prejudices or those of others, ye cast these things into the flames of scorn, then see that ye serve not yourselves and your kings as badly as did Jehoiachin, king of Judah, when he cut the book of Jeremiah with a knife, and cast it into the fire (Jer. 23, 23), and thus brought down greater wrath and blows upon himself and his people (v. 29, 30, 31).*

56. If any one of you say: *Wherefore dost thou not give us for judgment those other writings, promising remedies against decay* (that is, the reconciliation of Christians and the general enlightenment of peoples?). *Why first these more suspect books, of the truth of which it is not so easy to judge as of those others?*, I answer: So we desired, but it was not possible, as God hath ended his work more rapidly than man. Further for this reason, that our cogitations (albeit they are entirely founded on the books of God, nature, and the scriptures) are never-

turae ex toto fundata) compositionis tamen humanae sunt, revelationes autem immediatos Dei et angelorum sermones continent; praecedat ergo sermo Dei ut norma, sermones hominum ut normatum. Et quia, qui editionem istorum flagitant, homines sunt, qui autem hanc mandavit et hactenus ursit (quod suis locis patebit) Deus est; plus igitur oboediendum Deo et prius, quam hominibus. *Praeterea* priora ista erunt actiones intellectus humani cum intellectu humano, tempus et moram requirentes; posterius hoc actionem habet simplicem Creatoris cum creatura, nihil requirens praeter oboedientiam, auctoritatis divinae fulgore subito animos praestringens denuntiatarumque plagarum fulminibus perterrens et sic ad submittendum se Deo adigens. *Demum*, quia posteriora haec ad iram praeveniendum citam conversionem ad Deum postulant, ista vero inveteratos errores expendendi et emendandi iusti temporis deliberationes consiliaque lenta flagitant; concedenda igitur. *Sed et mutatae methodi (in divinis etiam mandatis, dummodo res ipsae non mutantur) observabile habemus exemplum in Elia; quod attingam.*

57. Mandatum acceperat Elias jam mundo evocandus trinum: *ungendi Hazaelem in regem Syriae et Jehu in regem Israel Eliseumque in prophetam sui loco* (1. Reg. 19, 16), addito: *Quicumque effugerit gladium Hazaelis, occidetur a Jehu; et quicumque effugerit gladium Jehu, interficietur ab Eliseo* (v. 17). Ecce inter iudicii Dei

theless human handiwork, whereas the prophecies directly contain the words of God and the angels: therefore let the word of God go on before as a standard, and then human words, as guided by the standard. Further because those who desire the publication of my books are but men, whereas he who commanded and hath hitherto urged the publication of the prophecies (as will in its place be apparent) is God himself; and it is more fitting to obey God rather than man. *Besides this*, my books will be the intercourse of human reason with human reason, demanding time and leisure; the book of prophecies simply containeth the intercourse of the Creator with creation, requiring nought but obedience, suddenly flooding the soul with the radiance of divine authority, intimidating it with the thunderbolts of the announced punishments, and thus driving it to submit to God. *Finally* the prophecies require a rapid conversion to God, that his wrath may be avoided; while my books demand the time necessary for consideration and thorough digestion, in order that inveterate errors may be weighed and corrected; and this time must be allowed them. But we also have the remarkable case, to which I will refer, of changed procedure in the case of Elijah (and this even in divine commands, so long as the things themselves remain without change).

57. Elijah, when the time had come that he should be called away from the earth, received a threefold command: *to anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, and Jehu to be king over Israel, and Elisha to be prophet in his room* (1. Kings 19, 15 and 16), this being added: *him that escapeth the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay: and him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu shall Elisha slay* (v. 17). See what is the order among the performers of the will of God twice

executores ordo, bis repetitus! 1. Hazael, 2. Jehu, 3. Eliseus. Et tamen Elias postremum mandatum primo executioni dedit, mox e deserto in terram Israel reversus (v. 19); Hazaelis et Jehu unctio aliquot in annos dilata neque per Eliam, sed Eliseum facta (2. Reg. 8 et 9). Prodeat ergo hic etiam Eliseus primo, ex quo Vobis, qui consilia humana politicis artibus venari soletis, arcanum etiam Dei consilium (circa praesentes mundi motus) cognosci possit. Homines enim quid studiis suis moliantur, plerumque occultare solent; Deus autem, quid consiliis suis moliat, non celat (Tob. 12, 7; Am. 3, 7). Ideo ibi serpentino, hic columbino oculo opus est, juncto tamen, (Matt. 10, 16).

58. Vos igitur, PACIS LEGATI, ut nominis Vestri mensuram expleatis, non humanorum duntaxat, sed et divinorum consiliorum trutinatores estote; nec tantum, quid reges vestri, sed etiam quid rex regum a Vobis requirat, attendentes et pro scopo non bellum, sed PACEM habentes consilia mementote agitanda esse placide, non impetuose, sincere, non subdole, animo aperto, non per insidias. Deus enim, in cujus conspectu negotia populi sui christiani salutem aut perniciem concernentia agitabitis, quia rectis corde bonus est (Ps. 33, 1), recta consilia favore suo prosperare, perversas vero hominum molitiones in molientium capita vertere solet. Atque tum beatos Vos cum regibus et populis Vestris, si gloriosum Dei opus, opus justitiae, PAX, ita sub manu Vestra prosperabitur, ut posthac populus Dei sedeat in

repeated! 1. *Hazael*, 2. *Jehu*, 3. *Elisha*. And in spite of this *Elijah* soon afterwards departing from the desert to the land of *Israel*, carried out the last order first (*v.* 19); the anointing of *Hazael* and *Jehu* was postponed for several years, and was not performed by *Elijah* but by *Elisha* (2. *Kings* 8, 9). *Let then in our case too Elisha step forth first of all, that ye, who follow human plans with political art, may also learn from him God's secret plan for the coming changes of the earth.* For men usually keep secret what they plan; but God concealeth it not (*Job* 12, 7; *Amos* 3, 7). And therefore in the case of human intentions it is necessary to have the eye of a serpent, in the case of God's intentions that of a dove, but both together, *Matt.* 10, 16.

58. YE AMBASSADORS OF PEACE, then, *that ye may do justice to your name, place in the scales not only the plans of men but also those of God; bear in mind not only what your kings but also what the King of kings requireth from you; have as your aim not war, but PEACE; and therefore remember that your negotiations must be conducted in a calm and even manner, not passionately, frankly, not deceitfully, with an open soul, not insidiously.* For God, before whose eyes ye will conduct your discussions concerning the salvation or perdition of his Christian people, *is inclined in his heart to the upright (Psalm 33, 1) and therefore blesseth good intentions with his friendship, whereas perverted human endeavours he maketh to recoil on the heads of the originators thereof.* Then therefore ye will be blissful with your kings and peoples, *if the glorious work of God, the work of justice, PEACE, flourish under your hands so, that in times to come the people of God may dwell in a peaceable habitation,*

pulchritudine PACIS et in tabernaculis fiduciae et in requie opulenta (Jes. 32, v. 17, 18). Quo ut veniri possit, per salutem regum et regnorum Vestrorum orandi estis, ut non tantum humana, JURA ET LEGES, sed etiã divina in consilium adhibere velitis (nam et ipse sapiens est, Jes. 31, 2). Habetis indubie Vobiscum theologos, conscientiarum Vestrarum custodes, eos quoque in consilium adhibete, ut non tantum, quid Machiavellus vel Papinianus, sed etiam quid Christus et Moses dicant, attendatis, facilius hoc modo, quid melius et tutius sit, perspecturi.

59. Si dederit Deus, ut Vestra PACIS CONCILIA felici conclusione (ad mentem Dei) terminata fuerint, rogandi etiam eritis, ut iis sinceræ fidei pondus superaddi velitis in conspectu Dei, *non membranis tantum pacta conventa Vestra inscribendo, sed cordibus; non argenteis tantum sigillis illa roborando, sed timendo Dei nomine; nec lingua tantum jurando in hominum deceptionem, sed mente intima, cujus scrutator et testis sit Deus per veritatem illam, quae in Christo Jesu est, Eph. 4, 22. Si quis secus faxit, ultorem experiatur Deum, ut foedifragus Senacherib (Jes. 33, 8) cum superbo exercitu suo inter-
necioni datus (cap. 37, v. 36. et 37. et 38). Et Sedekias rex, qui juramentum fidelitatis Babyloniorum regi praestitum in gratiam regis Aegypti et ob RATIONEM STATUS sui iterum faciens irritum levitate illa Deum ita offendit, ut diceret: Nunquid prosperabitur, qui fecit hoc? Qui dissolvit pactum, nunquid effugiet? Vivo ego, dicit dominus Deus, juramentum, quod sprevit, et foedus, quod praevaricatus est, ponam in caput ejus. Et expandam super eum*

and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting places (Isaiah 33, 18). That this may be realised, we must conjure you by the bliss of your kings and kingdoms not to include in your discussions matters of human RIGHT and LAWS only, but also matters divine (for he also is wise, Isaiah 31, 2). Ye have with you doubtless theologians, guardians of your consciences; take them too into your councils, that ye may be attentive not only to that which Machiavelli or Papinianus saith, but also to that which Christ and Moses say. So will ye best discern what is better and safer.

59. If God grant that your COUNCILS OF PEACE shall come to a happy close (according to God's mind), it will also be necessary to ask you to crown them with a measure of pure faith before the eyes of God. *Write down your agreements and covenants not only on parchment but in your hearts as well; confirm them not only with silver seals, but with the holy name of God; swear not only with your tongues to the confusion of men, but from the depths of your souls, whose examiner and witness is God through that truth which is in Jesus, Eph. 4, 21. If any one do otherwise, let him endure the vengeance of God, like the breaker of the covenant Sennacherib (Isaiah 33, 8), cast to perdition together with his proud army (chapter 31, v. 36, 37, 38), and like king Zedekiah, who swore an oath of fealty to the king of Babylon, but broke it again in favour of the king of Egypt and for his own profit. By this behaviour he so offended God, that he said: Shall he prosper? shall he escape that doeth such things? or shall he break the covenant and be delivered? As I live, saith the Lord God, surely mine oath that he hath despised, and my covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense upon his own head. And I will spread*


rete meum et comprehendetur in sagina mea etc. (Ez. 17, v. 15. ad 21).

60. Concludit *Angelus pacis* vota sua voto sub ipsa scripti hujus initia expresso: *Ut se mundus sistat, belligerare desistat principique pacis, Christo, locum faciat!* Sisti enim tantas in genere humano abominationes, violentiarum, fraudum exitorumque torrentes aliquando necesse est. Aut dicit Deus: *Dilexit maledictionem, veniat ei; noluit benedictionem, elongetur ab eo, Ps. 109, 17.* Sisti autem mala non possunt, nisi desistendo a malis, quia *scabies non curatur scabendo*, ut observavit Plato. Ergo *neque bella sistuntur bellando, disputationes disputando, persecutiones persequendo*, sed omnia haec in contrarium mutando. Si quis *VIAM PACIS constanter NESCIRE* vult, expectet *DEI* judicia denuntiata (*Jesaeae, 59*). Ubi etiam dicitur *Deum ipsum, si nullum videat virum, qui* (rebus tam desperatis) *interveniat, roboratum proprio brachio (v. 16) et indutum justitia ut lorica et opertum pallio zeli ad vindictam venturum etc., ut ab ortu et occasu timeant nomen Domini, cum ut violentus fluvijs venerit redemptor Sionis.* Sensus est: Si christiani nulla pacis consilia nec obtestationes ullas audire volent, adducturum esse irae suae torrentes Christum sive ab ortu sive ab occasu, donec tandem judicia ejus nomenque Dei reverenter habere orbis habitatores discant.

my net upon him, and he shall be taken in my snare etc. Ezekiel 17, v. 15—21.

60. The *Angel of peace* concludeth his wishes with the wish expressed already at the beginning of this writing: *that the world should call a halt, cease to wage war, and make way for the prince of peace, Christ.* For it is necessary that so many abominations in the human generation, so many torrents of violence, deceit, and perdition should be stemmed at length. Otherwise God will say: *As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him: as he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from him, Psalm 109, 17.* But it is not possible to stem evil but by turning away from evil; for *an itch is not cured by scratching*, as Plato remarked. Therefore *neither are wars put an end to by warfare, quarrels by quarrelling, persecution by persecution*, but by reversing all these things. If anyone *obstinately* desireth NOT TO KNOW THE WAY of PEACE, let him await the judgments of GOD, as announced by *Isaiah (chapter 59)*. Here it is also said *that if God see no man to intercede (in such a desperate plight), he will himself come to avenge with the strength of his arm (v. 16), with righteousness as a breastplate and with the garment of vengeance for clothing, so that the name of the Lord be feared in the west and the east, until the Redeemer of Zion shall come like a flood.* The meaning of this is: If Christians are not desirous to hear any plans for peace or any protestations of faith, Christ will conduct the floods of his wrath either from the east or the west, until all the inhabitants of the earth learn to hold his judgments and the name of God in honour.

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